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Bc. Martin Gális

Mykény, Trója a Anatolie: Mykénská jména v chetitských dokumentech a anatolská jména v Homérově Iliadě

Mycenae, Troy and Anatolia: Mycenaean names in Hittite documents, and Anatolian names in the Homeric Iliad

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Vedoucí práce: Dr. Reiner Lipp M. A.

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Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně výhradně za pomoci citovaných zdrojů, a to primárních pramenů a sekundární odborné literatury.

V Praze, dne2017

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Martin Gális

Klíčová slova:

Anatolie, Trója, Homér, antroponyma, toponyma, výpůjčky, kontakt, řečtina, chetitština

Keywords:

Anatolia, Troy, Homer, Anthroponyms, Toponyms, Borrowing, Language Contact, Greek, Hittite

Abstrakt (česky):

Cílem stávající práce je poskytnout aktuální souhrn podložený historickými fakty a textovým svědectvím z primárních zdrojů, který by podal koherentní popis dlouho diskutované otázky vzájemných vztahů mezi Chetity (resp. Anatolií) a Řeckým světem především v době pozdně bronzové. Za tímto účelem byla sesbírána data z různých vědeckých odvětví. Po krátkém úvodu do onomastiky a do historie řecko-anatolských studií následuje hlavní část práce sestávající z rozboru antroponym a toponym v těchto jazycích jak ze synchronního, tak i diachronního pohledu.

Abstract (in English):

The aim of the present work is to offer an up-to-date synopsis based on historical data and textual evidence that would give a coherent description of the long-discussed question of the mutual relations between the Hittite (or Anatolian) and the Greek world in the period of the Late Bronze Age. In order to do so, various data from different scientific fields were put together. After a brief introduction to onomastics and the history of the Greco-Anatolian studies follows the main part of the work which deals with probably mutually borrowed anthropo- and toponyms in these languages from both a diachronic and synchronic point of view.

Abbreviations (journals):

AJA American Journal of Archaeology

AO Archiv Orientalní

CTH Emmanuel Laroche: Catalogue des Textes Hittites. Paris 1971

division: CTH 1-220 Historical Texts
 CTH 221-290 Administrative Texts
 CTH 291-290 Legal Texts
 CTH 299-309 Lexical Texts
 CTH 310-320 Literary Texts
 CTH 321-370 Mythological Texts
 CTH 371-389 Hymns and Prayers
 CTH 390-500 Ritual Texts
 CTH 501-530 Cult Inventory Texts
 CTH 531-582 Omen and Oracle Texts
 CTH 583-590 Vows
 CTH 591-724 Festival Texts
 CTH 725-830 Texts in Other Languages
 CTH 831-833 Texts of Unknown Type

DELG *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*

DNP Der Neue Pauly

JANER Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions

FuF Forschung und Fortschritte

KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Bogazköy

Klio Beiträge zur alten Geschichte

KIP Der Kleine Pauly

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus *Boğazköy*

KZ Kuhns Zeitschrift, nowadays HS (Historische Sprachforschung)

LSJ Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon

MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin

MVAG - Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft

OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung

RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Berlin

VAT Vorderasiatische Texte nach Museumsnummern

Abbreviations (languages):

Aeol. Aeolic

Akk. Akkadian

Anat. Anatolian

Arm. Armenian

Att. Attic

Av. Avestan

Bulg. Bulgarian

HLuw. Hieroglyphic Luwian

CLuw. Cuneiform Luwian

Cz. Czech

Dor. Doric

Egypt. Egyptian

Gaul. Gaulish

Germ. German

Goth. Gothic

Gk. Greek

Hom. Homeric

Hitt. Hittite

Hsch. Hesychius

IE Indo-European

Ion. Ionic

Iran. Iranian

It. Italian

Lat. Latin

Luw. Luwian

Lyc. Lycian

Lyd. Lydian

Myc. Mycenaean

OAv. Old Avestan

OE Old English

OIr. Old Irish

OP Old Persian

Phoen. Phoenician
Serb. Serbian
Slav. Slavic
Slov. Slovene
Svk. Slovak
TochA Tocharian A
TochB Tocharian B
Ugar. Ugaritic
Ved. Vedic
YAv. Young Avestan

Abbreviations and special signs:

AD anno domini
adj. adjective
BC before Christ
C consonant
e. g. exempli gratia
ed. editor
eds. editors
etc. et cetera
f. following page
ff. following pages
fn. footnote
GN geographical name
Hrsg. Herausgeber (editor)
Hrsgg. Herausgeber (editors)
Ho Hieroglyphisch oben
Hu Hieroglyphisch unten
ibid. ibidem
id. idem
i. e. id est
l. c. loco citato
Pho Phönizisch oben
Phu Phönizisch unten

PIE Proto-Indo-European

PN personal name

Rs. Rückseite (verso)

NB nota bene!

p. page

pp. pages

s. v. sub voce

V vowel

Vs. Vorderseite (recto)

vs. versus

scil. scilicet

x unreadable sign

* reconstructed/not attested form

~ beside / corresponds to

[] missing sign = lacuna

> developed to

< developed from

<> grapheme representation

// phonemic representation

dividing of a stem of a compound

+ onwards

Contents

1. Preface	11
2. Brief overview of previous research on Anatolian onomastics	12
3. Onomastics.....	13
4. On the history of Greco-Anatolian comparanda.....	18
5. Linguistic and historical evidence	23
6. Anthroponyms	26
7. Toponyms	41
8. Conclusions.....	75
9. Bibliography	76

1. Preface

The goal of this work is to present an up to date synopsis of the long-discussed questions from the sphere of Greek and Anatolian onomastics; main focus being on the most famous parallels. This means, we will be dealing with the anthroponyms and toponyms specified within the available historical records. The emphasis will be put first and foremost on primary sources. In the case of Hittite, on the base of cuneiform texts stemming from 16th- 13th century BC, we have drawn a picture of the geopolitical situation in Anatolia and neighbouring areas of the Late Bronze age. In the case of Greek, mainly the oldest epic poetry, namely Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, who lived ca. 800-700 BC in the eastern Greek world, quite possibly in Anatolia (Smyrna?) itself (for the biographical and chronological data, as well as ancient sources informing us about Homer's person cf. Lesky 1967: passim, Latacz 2011:1ff., Hackstein 2002, Heubeck 1974, Kullmann 1992: passim, McMahon 2011:15f.) and whose descriptions of the surrounding landscape of Troy astonishes with its accuracy (Korfmann 2002). We will as well quote Herodot's (5th cent. BC) *Historiae*, as his work includes a great deal about the geography and peoples of Anatolia.

Furthermore, we will take into consideration also the oldest attested stage of Greek. Mycenaean Greek, as we will see, can also contribute to the topic and shed valuable light on the whole picture.

Last but not least, we will also be quoting later authors (e. g. Stephanus Byzantius, Pausanias, Strabo, Plinius), because they are - due to the time span - not as reliable sources as the Hittite official documents; nevertheless, they must reflect to some degree the reality, or at least the perception of the history of their time.

The dubious and more obscure cases where certainty of localization of geographical names (GN) is lacking and identification of personal names (PN) is even less probable than others are put aside.

2. Brief overview of previous research on Anatolian onomastics

Concerning toponyms, the first concise attempt was the publication by Hayri Ertem (1973). The work of Johannes Tischler and Giuseppe del Monte (from 1978 and supplement from 1992) is devoted to the Hittite period. It comprises the toponyms, references to the respective passages, translations, immediate context and bibliography and remains, up till now, one of the main reference works (cf. Hoffner-Melchert 2008:8).

Emmanuel Laroche was the first to comprehensively deal with Anatolian personal names (1951 & 1955). A revised and augmented second edition appeared in 1966 by the same scholar. Additions to the second edition were made in the year 1983 by Gary Beckman.

The first comprehensive work on divine names was that of Emmanuel Laroche (1947). Since then there appeared the collection of Ben H. L. van Gessel (1998-2001). However, due to the lack of commentaries on single deities, one has to consult the works on Hittite religion by Volkert Haas (1994) and Maciej Popko (1995) (cf. Hoffner-Melchert 2008:8).

3. Onomastics

It has already been stated at the beginning of Indo-European studies that in Indo-European besides the less numerous one-stem proper the personal names are in their majority compounds consisting usually of two, or in some cases of more elements, e. g.:

1. Ved. *Agni-datta* “Agni-given”, *Deva-datta* “God-given”

2. Iran. *Ἀχαι-μένης*, *Ἰντα-φέρνης*, OAv. / YAv. *Vīštāspa-*, OP. <Vištasp> in Greek rendering Gk. *Ὑστάσπης* “one with unfettered horses”, Germ. “mit (zum Rennen) losgebundenen Rossen” (cf. Szemerényi 1991:1765-1777), OP *Aspa-canah-* “who finds pleasure in horses”, Germ. “an Pferden Gefallen findend”, **R̥ta-xšaça* > OP *Arta-xšaça* <*A-r-t-x-ç*> in Greek rendering *Ἀρταξέρξης* “(having) the kingship of truth” OP <*d-a-r-y-v-u-š*> in Greek rendering *Δαρειός* “he who holds firm the good(ness)”, Germ. “Erhalter des Guten”

3. Gk. *Διο-μήδης* “Jove-counselled”, *Θεόφιλος* „friend of God”, *Θεόδοτος* „given to god”, *Φίλιππος* “horse-loving, fond of horses”, *Ἡρακλῆς* „he who has the glory of Hera/he who is the glory of Hera”

4. Germ. *Sieg-fried* “victory and peace”, Germ. Hartmut “strong-courage, brave” *Dietrich*, Gaul. *Dumno-rix* “king of the world”, *Vercingetorix* “great warrior king/ king of great warriors”, *Epopennus* “having a horse head”, OE *Eomær* “famed by his horses”,

5. Slav. *Vladi-mir*, *Stani-slav*, Serb. *Bogo-ljub*, *Bogo-dan* „God-given“, Svk/Cz. *Bohumil* “favoured by God”, pol. *Bogumil* “id.”,

(cf. Brugmann 1906:35f.; Bechtel 1917, Pulgram 1960:198ff., Debruner 1917:81f., Schmitt 2014:140, 281; Risch 1944:1-61, Schramm 1957, Remmer 2006, Stuber 2009, Zadok 2009, Tavernier 2007, Justi 1963, Laroche 1966, Mayrhofer 1979, 2003, Schmitt-Mayrhofer 1982, Meier-Brügger 2010:430ff., Hajnal 1996:13).

From a formal point of view, these can be divided into four types of personal names within Indo-European: 1. one-stem proper names, 2. two-stem proper name, 3. shortened names (Germ. *Kurznamen*) and 4. hypocorisms (Germ. *Kosewort*). The one-stem PN usually corresponds to simplicia and the two-stem PN corresponds to composites (Zehnder 2010:32).

1.

The first type, i. e. the proper names consisting just of one stem, are attested in Anatolian onomastics in a considerable number. This category is represented mostly by kinship terms (Hitt. *ḫanna-* “grandmother”), names of animals and plants. Here also belong the nicknames

like Greek *Πύρρος* (πυρρός “flame-coloured, yellowish-red, with red hair”) or *Ταῦρος* and suffixed *Σίμων* (from *σίμος* “Flat-nose”).

2.

The second category of the compounded proper names is in Greek very productive (e. g. *Ιφιδάμας* “who crushes with force”, *Λυκοῦργος* „warding off wolves”, *Μενέλαος* “Abiding-men”; *Ἀνδρομάχη* "man battler" or "fighter of men", *Ιφιάνασσα*, etc.). (cf. Kamptz (1958) 1982, Risch, West- Latacz 2003: 86, Palmer 1980:34f.)

Anatolian anthroponyms formed by two stems were considered in the past as not very productive. Further research has shown on the contrary that, although in a restricted number, there are represented all main types of nominal composites (tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi, dvandva or karmadhāraya) in Hittite. I. e. Hittite does not differ in this regard from other Indo-European languages. According to Tischler (1982:229): „Zusammenfassend lässt sich bezüglich der Nominalkomposition im Hethitischen folgendes sagen: Die Zahl der Komposita ist begrenzt, doch sicher größer als bisher angenommen, und es gibt sichere Indizien dafür, dass die Kompositionsfähigkeit doch nicht ganz verlorengegangen war“ or according to Zehnder (2010:33 fn. 48): „Gegenteilige frühere Aussagen dürfen als überholt gelten.“ (cf. Laroche 1966:317-327).

In Tischler’s and Zehnder’s (l. c. 33ff.) works, various types of nominal composites with numerous examples can be found. These originally archaic Indo-European compounds show some conspicuous reductions of their individual parts, exhibiting a certain amount of shrinkage in their elements (cf. Rasmussen 2002:331f.).

The order of elements of which a single anthroponym consists can be interchangeable. For example, in Greek we find *Ἀρχιππος* beside *Ἱππαρχος* „ruling the horse, magister equitum” or *Δωρόθεος* beside *Θεόδωρος* “gift of God”. Occasionally very distorted and illogical combinations can be found (cf. Aristotle, *Poetica* 1457), given by the fact, that the anthroponyms should express something positive and the lexical material is limited (cf. Bechtel 1917: 82). These facts hold true for the onomastics which shall be dealt with in the present work. (For a more up to date discussion of this topic see Anderson 2007:83ff.). Nevertheless, though in much smaller number, there are also uncompounded or monothematic names.

3.

The third category represents the shortened names, where a part of the name is omitted totally or only partly preserved. This type is well represented throughout the whole Indo-European language family. In Greek, the shortened names end in *-ος*. E.g. *Κάλλιτος* = *Καλλίτιμος*, *Πάτροκλος* = *Πατροκλῆης* "glory of the father", *Ἀλκιμέδων* = *Ἄλκιμος*, cf. Germ. *Fritz* < *Friedrich*, *Rike* < *Frederike*.

4.

The last group of names are the hypocoristics or terms of endearment, which are characteristic of, but not exclusive to, the communication with small children. The diminutives constitute an essential part of this category.

Often, we have to count with the so called *Lallnamen* (term coined by Paul Kretschmer in 1896:334 for ancient Greek). These types of anthroponyms are characteristic and popular for all periods of Anatolian name-giving (Laroche 1966:240-246).

Lallnamen are hypocoristic, phonologically reduced forms of given names which can enter from baby-talk into adult use. They mostly denote the members of the family, parents, relatives or sometimes also nannies (e. g. Hitt. ^f*Nanna*-, ^f*Nini*-, *atta*- "father", Greek *Παπίας*, French *Mimi*, *Nini*, *Loulou*, Engl. *Dada*, *Nana*, etc.). They are characterized by reduplication of whole syllables or the same consonant. The physiology of the human speech shows that the prevailing sounds in the *Lallnamen* are mostly bilabial consonants (*b*, *p*, *m*), though the dental *t* and the vowel *a* are also quite common (cf. Hereaeus 1937:158ff.).

It has to be stressed that in the Anatolian corpus occur so-called Lallwörter, which are similar in their phonetic shape, but have lexical meaning: Hitt. *lāla*-, Luw. *lāla*/i-, Hitt. *anna*-Luw. *ānna*/i- "mother", etc. When these Lallwörter are used as anthroponyms (e. g. ^f*Annā*), they shouldn't be *strictu senso* classified as Lallnamen. Classification and various types of Lallnamen can be found in Zehnder (2010:45ff.) or Laroche (1966:240).

They are hard to be classified and are often unanalysable and thereby excluded in the present work. For the Anatolian examples of such names see Melchert (apud Parker 2013:33).

The importance of onomastics for the study of history must be stressed, particularly for the time period, where there is no other (e. g. narrative) material attested and the majority of the evidence consists of personal and geographical names. For example, in Mycenaean 65 per cent of the whole corpus represent proper names (Chadwick 1973: 92).

Onomastics can show us the movement of nations, locate people who could not be situated in time and space, and tell us more about the interaction of single ethnic groups and their migration. Furthermore, onomastics reveal what was the prevailing social or political power respectively in a specific period (see e. g. Laroche 1966:364). In simple words, it reflects the situation in all layers of the society as it classifies the person according to social status, ethnic origin, age, sex, etc.

From the linguistic point of view, there are cases in Anatolian and Greek onomastics, which can be clearly assigned to a particular language on the phonological, etymological or morphological criteria, thereby determining the origin of specific personal or geographical names and consequently the direction of their borrowing. On the other hand, it has been stressed by many scholars whilst studying onomastics, that we are dealing with a specific type of data, which is not as stable as the rest of the lexicon, and the theorem of the *Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze* is sometimes not what we encounter.

The reason is that strict phonetic rules are applied above all in one relatively homogenous ethnic group. The reality is slightly different when an anthroponym or toponym is borrowed from one peculiar community to another, albeit both of them belong to the same language family, as is the case of Greek and Anatolian languages. Thus, the corresponding forms of an original Lat. *Medio-(p)lanum* >> Germ. *Mailand* ~ It. *Milano* or Slov. *Ljubljana* ~ Germ. *Laibach*, are definitely not explainable by pure phonological development (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:148, Latacz 2010:138f.). Regarding this field, it is worth mentioning the statement of Frank Starke (1997: 448, fn. 4) concerning the parallel of *Wilusa* ~ *Ἰλῖος*: “Auch die Griechen übernahmen vom Namen Wilussa-, dass was sie zu hören glaubten (und was sie hören wollten) und glichen das ganze an eigene gewohnte Patterns an.”

Anatolian anthropo- and toponomastics was from the beginning influenced by various neighbouring languages. E. g. by the Hattic substrate or later by the Hurritic adstrate. However, not a minor part of elements, consisting in Anatolian personal and geographical names are inherited from Proto-Indo-European (cf. Laroche 1966:365-367, Zehnder 2010:32f.)

Left aside are Greek and Anatolian anthropo- or toponymic parallels, which are much more dubious than others, as we cannot say anything precise about them, or the parallels adduced by Forrer which in the course of time showed to be incorrect. We have in mind cases like Hitt. *ayawalla-* ~ Gk. *Αἰόλος* “Aeolian” (cf. Sturtevant 1928:228, fn. 12), where the Hittite

form denotes a higher rank or the word for “son” (Melchert 1980:90-95) rather than a gentilic meaning “Aeolian”, or the alleged correspondence Hitt. *kuirwanaš* ~ Gk. *κοῖρανός* “autonomous ruler”, Forrer: “unabhängiger Herrscher”) (cf. Beckman 2016:3, Puhvel 1984:13).

4. On the history of Greco-Anatolian comparanda

All findings and long-lasting discussions, dealt with further on, were made possible by the partial decipherment of the Old Persian cuneiform script in the year 1802 by Georg Friedrich Grotefend (1775–1853), which was curiously initiated by a bet with Danish cartographer and explorer, Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815), who already noticed that these inscriptions include three different scripts (Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite). The decipherment was greatly advanced by Sir Henry Rawlinson and completed in the year 1851 (cf. de Vaan-Lubotsky 2009:161, Walker 2004:46, in detail Hajnal 1996: 6ff., Hinz 1975:30).

In the sequel of the decipherment of the Old Persian cuneiform writing it was possible to decode the totally different and much older system of the Babylonian cuneiform used in Babylonian and Elamite parallel versions of the Achaemenid inscriptions. From the beginning, it were unfortunately not professional archaeologists, but mostly laymen, diplomats or merchants like Heinrich Schliemann without any education in this discipline, who undertook the excavations in the Near East (cf. Traill 1986:91f.).

The material (approximately ten thousand tablets) relevant for this debate was provided by the first systematic excavations, which begun in 1906 at the capital city of the hitherto unknown Hittites, that is at Hattusa near the modern town Boğazkale (“gorge castle”) in central Turkey, previously called Boğazköy (“gorge village”). They were led by Hugo Winckler and Theodoros Makridis. Seeing the interesting and almost unbelievable details from the excavation in the description by Röllig (1992:184f.), it makes surely every hittitologist’s or archaeologist’s hair stand on end. Although, Winckler understood just the Akkadian (i. e. Babylonian-Assyrian) parts of the excavated tablets, he noticed the similarity between the text excavated in Hattusa and the *Amarna letters*, which he had published not long before (Winckler 1896). He was already able to gain a lot of information from them. The decisive step forward, enabling Forrer’s discoveries, was the identification of Hittite as an Indo-European language. On 24. November 1915 the Czech orientalist from the university of Vienna, Bedřich Hrozný delivered a lecture with the title *Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems* at the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, soon followed by concise description of the language (Hrozný 1916). Nevertheless, at this point we must not forget to mention the Norwegian scholar, Jørgen Alexander Knudtzon, who in his work on the Arzawa letters (Knudtzon 1902) recognized Hittite as IE language, but was heavily criticized for this analysis. In these letters between the king of Egypt *Nimuwaria* and *Tarhundaradu*, the king of the land of Arzawa, Knudtzon already

rightly identified some verb and case endings (e. g. *-n* as an accusative marker or *-š* as the marker of gen. sg.) (cf. Singer 2005, Hawkins 2009).

From the beginning of the early twenties of the 20th century a totally new perspective was opened by the discoveries and publications of the Swiss orientalist Emil Orgetorix Forrer (19 February 1894-10 January 1986) who, in short, supposed on the basis of significant phonetic correspondences the presence of Greek proper names (anthroponyms and toponyms) in Hittite texts. And his works triggered a long-lasting controversy.

Forrer published his discoveries in works such as *Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Bogazköi* (Forrer, 1924a), *Die Griechen in den Bogazöi* (Forrer, 1924b) or *La découverte de la Grèce mycénienne dans les textes cunéiformes de l'empire hittite* (Forrer, 1930); further articles are devoted to theonyms and mythology: *Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche* (Forrer, 1936), *Apollon Vulcanus und die Kyklopen in den Bogazköi-Texten* (Forrer, 1931). However, his late works like: *Homerisch und Silenisch Amerika* (Forrer 1975) or *Der Untergang des Hatti-Reiches*, published in *Ugaritica VI*, which has scarcely something to do with Hatti kingdom, but rather present Forrer's conclusions from his "Meropisforschung" (cf. Beckman 2009:346), are in my opinion at least hardly convincing and are to be ascribed to Forrer's high age and isolation in San Salvador from the mainstream research.

Forrer's discoveries, such as the correspondences like Homeric Greek *Ἰλῖος* \approx Hitt. *uḫilusa*, Gk. *Ἀχαι(ρ)ία* \approx Hitt. *Aḫḫijauā* or Hom. *Τροίη* \approx Hitt. *Taruiša*, were long since an object of lively disputes, though it should be mentioned that not all the equations made by Forrer were in accordance with the present *communis opinio*. For example, he didn't equate Hitt. *Wilusa* with Hom. Gk. *Ἰλῖος* but with the town *Elaiusa* in Cilicia (Beckmann 2016:2, Heinhold-Krahmer 2004).

All these examples were adduced to support his hypothesis of a great Greek empire in the 14th – 13th century BC, located in Orchomenos (Boeotia) and then in Mycenae.

These parallels were deemed by some scholars as almost thoroughly possible. Including the main propagator of this thesis, Emil Forrer (1924, 1926), the Greek philologist Paul Kretschmer from Vienna (1924), Stefan Przeworski (1924–5), the "decipherer" of Hittite, Bedřich Hrozný (1929), Fritz Schachermeyr (1931) or Édouard Paul Dhorme (1924) shared such opinions. Other scholars of that time like Ferdinand Sommer, Johannes Friedrich and Albrecht Götze rejected Forrer's comparisons (summary in Harmatta 1968: 117ff.). Their critique aimed at the philological and comparative competence of Forrer and the misinterpretation of Hittite geography and chronology. In his defence, Forrer said that the

methods he used were primarily historical, rather than philological and stressed at the same time, that one cannot expect regular sound correspondences in the borrowing across language boundaries. As a parallel to this method one can compare the decipherment of the Persian cuneiform writing by Georg Friedrich Grotefend, which was based on the recognition of the names of Achaemenid rulers (cf. Beckmann 2016:4).

Nowadays, the number of researchers who favour the identification of Greek anthropo- and toponyms in Anatolian sources is growing and the statements of leading scholars are expressed conclusively (thus, e. g. Frank Starke (1997:455): “So erscheint die Identifizierung des Landes Wilusa mit der Troas...unausweichlich” or Joachim Latacz (2001:100): “Wir wissen heute definitive: “Wilusa” und “Wilios” sind identisch.”).

The fate of Forrer’s revolutionary discoveries was tragic from a scholarly and human point of view. He was faced with an almost total denial and unjustified critiques by leading Hittite scholars of that time, such as Johannes Friedrich, as well as his teacher Ferdinand Sommer, who collected and published in 1932 on almost 500 pages in his work “Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden” all the texts, which were available at that time and mentioned Ahhiyawa.

This polemic grew stronger and more vicious in the course of time, becoming personal (Oberheid 2003, 2007: 70-76, 109-116, 122-130, cf. also Beckman 2009: 344-347). On the other hand, there were pupils of Sommer (like Annelies Kammenhuber) who were able to make a stand against Sommer’s authority and appreciate Forrer’s path-breaking discoveries and merits (Szemerényi l. c. 259ff.). Other important persons, who contributed from the very beginning to this topic, were Paul Kretschmer (*Alakšanduš, König von Viluša* (1924) or *Zur Frage der griechischen Namen in den hethitischen Texten* (1930), Bedřich Hrozný (*Hethiter und Griechen, Archiv Orientální* 1: 323–343) or Daniel David Luckenbill (“A Possible Occurrence of the Name Alexander in the BoghazKeui Tablets.” *Classical Philology* 6: pp. 85–86), who has also fallen in oblivion in this context.

The similarities between Hittite, respectively Anatolian in general, and Greek do not just concern the onomastic material, but as shown among others by Jaan Puhvel (1991:9f.), also numerous other aspects of language, literary formulas or ritual practices. For example, the dual invocation of the god of heaven and the god of sun. Structural correspondence in the similarities of various literary motives and interactions between Greece, Anatolia and the further East was shown more recently by Rollinger (2015: 6-32), West (1997: passim), Watkins (1995: 144ff.), Katz (2005), the Indo-European background of literary parallels between Greek and Vedic by Jamison (1994: 5-16), West (1988:152f.) and García Ramón (2011:26), who states that the areal diffusion of genres, *τόποι*, as well as the cultural sphere points rather to an east to west direction,

although the opposite can't in some cases be excluded. More and more stressed is also the orientalisising influence on Greek culture and literature, including Homeric epics, above all by the Assyrian-Babylonian culture (e. g. Burkert 1988:10-40; 1992: passim, West 1988:151-172, Rollinger 2011:213-227).

In the secondary literature, in this context, one can even encounter the term *neoanalysis* regarding the make-up of the Homeric poems. Let us briefly list just a few examples of the supposed oriental influence on Homer, respectively on the oldest Greek literature (further cases are discussed in Kullmann 1992, 2011:109f.; Burkert 1991: 155-181):

1. In Hesiod's Theogony and Homer we find the trichotomy of the generations of gods (Kronos, Uranos, Zeus), which is inspired by the Hurro-Hittite Kumarbi-myth.
2. The division of the sphere of power between the three brothers Zeus, Poseidon and Hades (Il. 15, 187-195), which has its parallel in the Atrahasis epic where by lot the power was divided between the weather-god Enlil, sky-god Anu and Enki, the god of waters.
3. In the enumeration of the mistresses of Zeus in the Iliad (14, 315-328) one can see a parallel to the enumeration of the lovers of Istar by Gilgamesh (VI 4-79) (cf. West 1997: 384).
4. The myth about the destruction of the human race mentioned in *Kypria* and Hesiod has its counterpart in Mahābhārata epic (VII 53-54, XII 256ff.), in Gilgamesh epic (XI 9-209), in the old testament in the story of Noah (Genesis 6–9) and in the Atrahasis epic (cf. Burkert 1984:96-98).
5. Other aspects, which sees Franz Starke (1997) regards as a reflection of the social situation in Anatolia of the Bronze Age in Homer are:
 - a. The exceptional great family of Priamos bears a resemblance to the Hittite royal family.
 - b. The functions of the Trojan *δημογέροντες* can be equated with the office of the Hittite sovereigns (Hitt. *utniyasha-*) (Tischler 2001:189).
 - c. The conflicts among Trojans remind us of the lack of loyalty between Hittite royal family.
 - d. The practice of contracts and oath-ceremonies. Hom. Il. 3. 257-259: *οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσόμενοι δεπάεσσιν ἔκχεον, ἥδ' εὖχοντο θεοῖς αἰειγενέτησιν* (cf. Starke 1997: 483, fn. 195, vide etiam Haas 2007: 1-6)

Therefore, the old axiom *Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφνίζειν* „to explain Homer through Homer” of the Homeric philology, fails by its dogmatic character. To give a couple of examples: In many passages in the Iliad the landscapes of Troad, Lycia as well as of Lydia are described as rich in cornfields and vineyards. Similar testimonies come from the Hieroglyphic-Luwian inscriptions of the 8th century BC. The Alaksandu treaty (§21) also talks about vineyards (^{GIS}SAR.GEŠTIN) in the land of Wilusa (cf. Friedrich 1930:81).

According to Högemann (2000:184), however in the Ilias (18.483-606), the archetype of *ekphrasis* par excellence, where we see two cities surrounded by cornfields and vineyards, we are dealing with Ionian cities.

5. Linguistic and historical evidence

It has been clear for a long while, that the Greek and Anatolian languages (leaving aside other languages of the Near East like Hattic, Akkadian and Hurrian) were in close contact from the second millennium BC onwards. This also holds true for the first millennium. The respective languages (including smaller Anatolian languages like Lycian, Lydian, Pisidian, Milyan, Palaic, Sidetic or Carian) were all in greater or lesser interaction. This can be seen e. g. by the *Code-Switching* in Hittite text, where a *Glossenkeil* is used when a passage is in a different language follows (for examples see García Ramón 2011: 25, Daves 2008: 1-30).

This supposition is at least theoretically supported by the early presence of Anatolian lexemes in other extra-Anatolian languages. On the one hand, there is the testimony of Hittite, indirectly attested by some words (e. g. *išhiul-* „contract”) in Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe dating from the 19th century BC and on the other hand, there are the Mycenaean documents in Linear B from ca. 15th century BC (cf. Bičovský, pag. 36, forthcoming).

The exact match of the Greek and Anatolian topo-, anthro-, and ethnonyms respectively based on linguistic methods and the phonetic match is very difficult to prove. Even though we can be relatively sure about the functional match of some parallels, we must be aware of the possibility of dealing with homonyms. For example, Hitt. *Tawagalawa*, who in a Hittite letter is mentioned as a Mycenaean Great king, is despite the formal match with Gk. not the son of Oedipus (cf. West 2001: 296).

It has been stated more than once that strict phonetic laws cannot be applied to the case of proper foreign names.

In addition, while dealing with Greek anthroponyms it has to be taken into consideration that often synchronically two forms of the same name may coexist side by side (cf. Morpurgo-Davies 2000:17). For example, the compound names can be substituted by abbreviated forms, which is not a standard phonological change. The same holds true for some toponyms that may be interchangeable purely for pragmatical reasons (vide infra *Wilusa*), or a specific geographical name may be transferred, as often argued by Zgusta (1984: passim).

Furthermore, in the texts we encounter shortened forms of compounded anthroponyms (*Κλεομένης* ~ *Κλέομις* ~ *Κλέομμης*), and consequently hypocoristics (Germ. *Kosenamen*) formed with a suffix from a such base. In Hittite and Luwian the hypocoristic-forming suffix is *-(n)na/i-*.

This process is very well attested and productive, particularly by toponyms. For example, there is the toponym *Pāla* and [reduplicated] *Paphla-*, situated in the historical region in the north of Anatolia, where Palaic (^{URU}*palaumnili*) was spoken (Watkins 1986:47). In turn, the shortened form might have been geminated. One can observe that anthroponyms behave differently in phonological processes than common nouns and are formed according to rules which outside of onomastics are very rare (so-called onomastic morphology). The shortened names are created from all kinds of proper names, but most frequently from two-stem names. The situation of identifying the basic proper name from which the shortened name was formed can be made more complicated and obscured by the fact that the morpheme boundaries of the original PN are not taken into consideration and the resulting form of the name can be cut off arbitrary.

Another obstacle in identifying the shortened names is to be seen in the fact that they can be confused with the anthroponyms consisting of one stem. At the same time, however they can be taken as shortened names. The only unproblematic situation represent the cases when we are dealing with the full name coexisting side by side with the shortened name denoting the same historical person (cf. Zehnder 2010:32).

Another important point that must be taken into account when comparing possible cognates, resp. parallels in two languages, is the fact that during a specific period some dialect may be predominant and replace the (original) form (e. g. Greek dialects and the later prevalence of Attic-based koine). On the other hand, we have to be aware that also the social prestige of a specific name can play a role and may cause a divergence of what we understand as regular phonological change (cf. Morpurgo-Davies 2000:23).

The onomastic material and correspondences between single languages has to be judged on two levels (Hajnal 2003: 24-25):

1. The functional correspondence of toponyms can be taken as proven if the geographical description fits in sources of both languages.
2. On the formal level, the entities should display plausible phonological correspondences or similar morphological derivations.

The onomastic material of Hittite sources is very extensive, and with every newly published text it is still increasing. We see this growth in the case of the toponomastic material, which can for example be seen by the comparison of the basic reference publication for Hittite

geographical names, namely del Monte-Tischler (1992) where there are ca. 1500 toponyms documented. However, Johann Tischler (2002: 75ff.) states that in the edited texts more than 6000 names are attested. The major part consists of personal names (2500, 15% of it feminine), second most numerous group consists of geographical names (2400) and the third being the names of gods (1100).

As regards toponyms, although our knowledge advanced in previous decades because of new findings and re-interpretations of some of the inscriptions, we can still not be sure about the localization in every single case, and the reasons for this are manifold. For example, even though we have relatively extensive records from the campaigns of the Hittite rulers, we do not dispose of any itineraries *strictu senso*. Furthermore, the toponym can refer to various places or can denote the proper place or the greater area named after the capital city of the province.

The ancient sources are reliable just to a certain degree and cannot be taken for historically granted, often because of the immense time gap between the events and their literal description. And thus the formal similarities can be just a “Sirene des Gleichklangs” the “Siren of phonetic similarity” (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:157f., Watkins 1986:54, Brosch 2004:4).

6. Anthroponyms

1. Hitt. *A-la-ak-ša-an-du-uš* ~ Gk. *Ἀλέξανδρος* (Miller 2014: 14, 302; for Laroche 1966:26 the Hittite form is *transcription maladroite du grec*). This person is mentioned in a vassal treaty (also known as Alaksandu treaty, CTH 76) between the Hittite king Muwatallis II. (ca. 1290–1272 BC) and Alaksandus, ruler of Wilusa. In 21 paragraphs, the ruler is addressed 23 times as Alaksandus (cf. Latacz 2002:196f.). From the text, we know that he was the successor of *Kukkunni*, who also stemmed from Wilusa (vide infra). He is addressed in the treaty (§17) as one of the four rulers of the kingdom of Arzawa, with the capital *Apasa* (Gk. *Ἐφεσος*), which is situated in the geographical area of western Anatolia comprising Seha River Land, Mira and Hapalla (for the geography of Western Anatolia see Starke 1997, Hawkins 1998:1-31, Rose 2008:407 with further references).

The connection between Hitt. *A-la-ak-ša-an-du-uš* and Gk. *Ἀλέξανδρος* was first suggested by David Luckenbill (1911:85f.) and elaborated later by Paul Kretschmer (1924: 205-213) and Otto Hoffmann (1940: 21-77). Homer's *Iliad* presents as plausible comparandum the name of Paris Alexandros (*Πάρις Ἀλέξανδρος*), the Trojan prince and son of Priamos (*Πρίαμος*). In favour of the borrowing of this name from Greek into Hittite speaks the relative formal isolation of the name *Alaksandus* in Hittite onomastics, with no clear analysis in Hittite, Luwian or in the Anatolian branch in general and also no correspondence to other names in these languages. Due to this fact, it is most likely that we are dealing with a foreign name, namely a Greek PN consisting of two elements. The first part comes from the Gk. verb *ἀλέξω* “to ward off, defend, keep away from, turn aside, to protect” from IE root **h₂lek-* Germ. “abwehren, schützen”, Engl. “to ward off, protect” and *ὁ ἀνὴρ*, gen. *ἀνδρός*, “man, warrior” leading to a meaning lit. „the one who is warding off the men, protector of men” Germ. “der die Männer schützt” (García Ramón 2011: 34; Frisk 1960: 68f., LIV² 278).

Ferdinand Sommer rejected the connection of the Greek and Anatolian form and objected that older Greek compounds used *-ήνωρ* instead of *-άνδρος*, which he considered as not native Greek element explicitly stated: *Appellativa auf -ανδρος, das ist und bleibt von der allergrössten Bedeutung, kennt Homer noch nicht...Vorhanden sind nur ein paar Namen auf -ανδρος, -ανδρη, die... aus dem Rahmen des Indogermanischen wie des homerischen Griechisch herausfallen. Sie sind Nichtgriechen beigelegt.* (Sommer 1937: 222; cf. Szemerényi 1988:281). A similar opinion was already expressed by Jacob Wackernagel (Festgabe für A. Kaegi 1919: 64 = Kleine Schriften, Band I, 1979: 492), who stated that the compounds with *-ανδρος, -ανδρη*

are post-Homeric, common only after 5th century BC in works of Pindar and Aeschylus. Despite their hypothesis being incorrect, as shown below, it is a fact that in Homer only Peisandros is Greek, other persons with the element *-ανδρος*, respectively *-ανδρη* are non-Greeks. Thus, for example:

1. *Ἀλκανδρος* Alkandros (Il. 5.678) is a Lycian fighting on Trojan side, he was killed by Odysseus
 2. *Ἰσανδρος* Isandros (Il.6.197.203) as well,
 3. *Λύσανδρος* Lysandros (Il. 11.491) a Trojan,
 4. *Κασσάνδρα* Kassandre (Il. 11.422) a Trojan woman, daughter of Priamos and Hecabe
 5. Akandre (Il. 4.126) from Egyptian Thebes
- (cf. Röllig 1992:193).

Their afore-mentioned objections were nevertheless disproved in the middle of the 20th century after the decipherment of Linear B -used between 14th and 13th century- by British architect Michael Ventris and John Chadwick (for history of the decipherment see Hajnal 1996:14ff., Pope 2008: 1-23). It was precisely in 1958 when a text in Mycenaean Linear B script was discovered in the so-called West House at Mycenae, where a female name *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* (-qe) /Aleksandra(-*k^ue*)/ = Gk. *Ἀλεξάνδρα* (-τε) (My V 659.2) is preserved (with the enclitic copulative conjunction Myc. -qe = Gk. -τε, corresponding to Lat. -que, Ved. -ca, OAv. -cā, Yav. -ca, etc. < IE *-*k^ue* „and”), namely in a list of women (Aura Jorro 1985: 98, for writing conventions see Risch-Hajnal 2006:45, 51, Duhoux 2008: 290f., Chadwick 1963). First eight lines of the tablet are given for illustration:

1. wo-di-je-ja de-mi-ni-ja
2. *ma-no a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-qe*
3. ri-su-ra qo-ta-qe
4. e-ri-tu-pi-na te-o-do-ra
5. o-to-wo-wi-je tu-ka-te-qe
6. a-ne-a₂ tu-ka-te-qe
7. pi-ro-wo-na ki-ra-qe
8. pu-ka-ro ke-ti-de-qe

The remaining five lines are badly damaged and just a few signs on the right side of the tablet are readable.

There are also other names derived from this verbal root: Myc. *a-re-ke-se-u* = Gk. *Ἀλεξεύς* /Alekseus/ (KN Da 1156.B, MY Fu 711), which represents in all probability a hypocoristic form of *Ἀλέξανδρος* (Chadwick-Baumbach: 1963:170, Chadwick 1973: 100) and *a-re-ki-si-to* (Py Vn 865.5), which could represent **Ἀλέξιτος*. Chadwick (1963:65) hinted at this related anthroponyms and stated that it is hardly possible to take Hitt. *A-la-ak-ša-an-du-uš* as source form of Gk. *Ἀλέξανδρος*. Risch (1974:227) also confirmed the antiquity of the formation of the women names and adduced a few of them, such as Myc. *Pi-ro-pa-ta-ra* = Gk. *Φιλοπάτρα*.

For the relative chronology of the mutual relations of compound names build with Greek element *-ανωρ/-ανειρα* or *-ανδρος/-ανδρα* as well as for the structure, history and the study of this anthroponym see Szemerényi (1988:121ff.).

Summing up: This anthroponym provides quite a unique case with transparent Greek etymology, where we can judge the direction of borrowing, namely from Greece to Anatolia. Therefore, in this specific case I find Güterbock's (1986:35) contemplation of the origin of this PN superfluous.

2. Hitt. *<Attariššijaš>* ~ Gk. *Ἀτρεύς* (Kretschmer 1927: 168-169, Kretschmer 1933: 246 wrong, Laroche 1966: 18ff., 48, Fick 1894: 425 classifies this name under „Ungedeutete Namen“) It was again Emil Orgetorix Forrer (MDOG 63, 1924, 21), who in his notorious article compared among other these two anthroponyms.

In the so-called “Indictment of Madduwatta” (KUB XIV. 1 + Kbo XIX 38) *Attarissiyas* is designated as “man from *Ahhiya*” (LÚ^{URU} *a-aḥ-ḥi-ia-a*), who during the reign of *Tuthaliya* II (ca. 1390-1270) attacked the Hittite territory in western Anatolia with hundred chariots and infantry comprising thousands of men. This was, among others, one of the reasons against the localization of Ahhiyawa in the Aegean Sea. He was eventually defeated by Hittites.

In Greek literature, the bearer of the corresponding name *Ἀτρεύς* is the son of Pelops, grandson of Tantalos and brother of Thyestes (cf. Kamptz 1982:336f. with further literature).

The PN in Greek is formed by the suffix *-εύς* (cf. Risch 1974). This suffix is common in denominal forms like Gk. *χαλκεύς* “coppersmith, worker in metal” from Gk. *χαλκός* „copper, metal, bronze“, or Gk. *ιερεύς* “priest, sacrificer, diviner” from Gk. *τὰ ἱερά* “offerings, victims” (cf. Hajnal „Urgriechisch” pag. 6).

It is as well quite common suffix of Homeric time Achaean heroes (e. g. *Ἀχιλλεύς*, *Ὀδυσσεύς*, *Θησεύς*) and simultaneously a well attested suffix forming PN in Mycenaean Linear B texts, e. g. *a-ki-re-u* /*Akhillēus*/ KN Vc 106, PY Fn. 79.2, although in Mycenaean tablets these

PN do not denote noblemen like in Homeric epics, but rather ordinary people. Myc. <te-se-u> = Gk. *Θησεύς* and Myc. <e-ko-to> = Gk. *Ἐκτωρ* are namely denoted in the Mycenaean tablets as <te-o-jo do-e-ro> “servant of the god” Germ. “Diener des Gottes” (PY En 74) (for a detail study of the Greek PN *Ἀχιλλεύς* see Nikolaev 2007:162f., cf. Hajnal 1998:70, Meier-Brügger 2017: 51).

It means that this suffix is attested from the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. The later authors of the classical period understood this name as *ἄτρεστος* (e. g. Plato Cratylus 395b: *τοῖς δ' ἐπαῖουσι περὶ ὀνομάτων ἱκανῶς δηλοῖ ὁ βούλεται ὁ Ἄτρεύς.*” καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ <ἀτειρές> καὶ κατὰ τὸ <ἄτρεστον> καὶ κατὰ τὸ <ἀτηρόν> πανταχῇ ὀρθῶς αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα κεῖται. Engl. ”but to those who understand about names it makes the meaning of Atreus plain enough; for indeed in view of his stubbornness (*ἀτειρές*) and fearlessness (*ἄτρεστον*) and ruinous acts (*ἀτηρά*) the name is correctly given to him on every ground.” or the words of Agamemnon in Euripides, *Iphigenia Aulidensis* 321: *μῶν τρέσας οὐκ ἀνακαλύψω βλέφαρον, Ἀτρέως γεγώς;* Engl. “Shall I, the son of Fearless = Atreus be fearful”, lit. “Shall I, the son of Atreus, close my eyes from fear?” Translation from perseus digital library). In favour of this analysis speaks also the semantic proximity to the names of his descendants *Μενέλαος* “he who makes the folk stand fast, abiding men” and *Ἀγαμέμνων* “he who stands fast exceedingly” or in Etymologicum Magnum, s. v. <Ἀτρεύς>: *Παρὰ τὸ τρεῖν, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι. Ὡσπερ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ τρέφω γίνεται τροφὸς, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὸ τρέω γίνεται τρεύς· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στερητικοῦ α, ἀτρεὺς, ὁ ἄφοβος.* (see also Palmer 1980:35f.).

The following etymology was offered by Szemerényi (1957:179): Class-Gk. *Ἀτρεύς* < Archaic-Greek **atrehus* < **atresus* < Proto-Greek **a-tres-u-s* < IE **h₂-tres-u-s* from the root **tres-* “to flee, to be in fear” (LIV² 650f. **tres-* (vor Schreck) zittern), IEW 1905), i. e. a privative formation of an adjective *u*-stem. Consequently, the personal name Gk. *Ἀτρεύς* means according to Szemerényi “the one who knows no flight (from the enemy)”.

Summing up, there is a good chance that in the case of Hitt. *Attarissiya* we are dealing with a Greek PN as he is designated as *Ahhiyawan man* (cf. West 2001: 265f.)

3. Hitt. *Tawagalawaš* /taḡa-klaḡas/ ~ Gk. *Ἐτεοκλῆς* “having true fame” (Bechtel 1917:168; Bartoněk 2003: 14 212-223, Miller 2014:302, Méndez Dosuna 2007: 462; Parker 2008: 445, García Ramón 2011b: 229, Laroche 1966:182; Forrer MDOG 63, 9) Early on, there arose objections against this specific comparandum. Sommer (372f.) stated that it is not probable to give for *Tawagalawas* a Greek etymology because his brother was called *Lahurzi* (for possible origin of this name see Sturtevant 1928:220 or Tenner 1926:11). But as we see in the case of

other anthroponyms, the names of Greek incomers were often mixed up with Anatolian ones, which is definitely nothing unusual in a polyethnic society, which Anatolia in that time for sure had to be (cf. Kretschmer 1933: 246).

Gk. *Ἐτεοκλῆς* ~ Hitt. *Tawagalawaš* is a possessive compound. It represents one of the rare instances where we can with greater credibility determine the direction of the adaption, namely eastwards from Greece to Anatolia. A formation with the same meaning is to be seen in Ved. PN *Satyá-śravas-* < IE **h₁sn̥t-ǵó-kleu_s-*, consisting of the Ved. adjective *satyá-* “being” → “true, real” from the IE root **h₁es-* “to be” and the noun *śravas-* < IE **kleu_s-* (cf. EWA II 667f, 690f.), which represents according to García Ramón (2011a:36) an old Indo-European collocation. The difference between the vowels was discussed by Kretschmer (1933: 245), who stated that the IE vowels **a* **e* **o* were in inherited words as well as in borrowings in Hittite often not distinguished and fell together into *a*.

This personal name occurs as a patronymicon also in Mycenaean (Py An 654.8) (Chadwick 1973: 92, 95):

me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo

μετά-qe σφέηι ἐqέτᾱς: Ἀλεκτρύ(φ)ων Ἐτεφοκλεφέηι(y)ος

„and among them (is) the ἐπέτᾱς Alektryon, son of Eteocles“

Myc. *e-qe-ta* /*hek̥etās*/, cf. Gk. (Pindar) *ἐπέτας* means “follower, attendant”. They were in Mycenaean times men of a higher rank and (Palmer 1963:221): “they presumably accompany the detachments enumerated in the *o-ka* tablets as representatives of the king. It can hardly be doubted that religious functions fell to them as well” (cf. Schuhmann - Einführung in das Mykenische: pag. 111, Risch-Hajnal 2006:132)

Mycenaean patronymic *E-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /*Etewoklewe(h)-ios*/ = **Etefo-klefeh-* to PN *Ἐτεοκλῆς* < **Etefo-kleḗs* < **set-eu_o+kleḗ-ēs* „true-famed“

The Mycenaean form shows as second member of the compound the nominal form *-ke-re-we-* = Gk. *-κλῆς* < IE **-kleu_sēs* from the IE root **kleu-* “to hear” and an appurtenance suffix **/-io-*, *-ǵio-* (cf. Hajnal 1995:47 LIV² 334, NIL 425ff., fn. 25, IEW 605ff.).

The initial *é-* not discussed by Forrer is justified by following the analysis:

This PN consists of two elements. The first being the Gk. possessive adj. *ἐτεός* < IE **set-eu-ó-* “true, having/containing the true order, real” ← **sét-u-/*steu-*, which shows psilosis, i. e. the loss of the *spiritus asper* in anlaut, typical for Lesbian and Ionic dialects in the east of the Greek speaking world. This phenomenon, could be theoretically caused by language contact. Lydian, the neighbouring language could be the possible donor-language of this phenomenon and Greek the acceptor. In Lydian is the loss of initial aspiration attested, e. g. Hitt. *huišuant-* “lively” contrary to Lyd. *wesfa-* “id.” < IE **h₂és-u-* (cf. Frisk 1960:580; Schwyzler 1977:79, for the derivational type see Brogyanyi/ Lipp 'Wein' IRDAU III 72, Beekes 2010:474f., Woodard 2008:58, Buck 1955:143, Daues 2008: 16, Oettinger: 2006: 99, Kloekhorst EDHIL 343ff.). This analysis is backed up by a gloss in Hesychios: *ἐτά · ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά* whereby Hsch. *ἐτά* 'true' goes back to IE **set-ó-* “having truth” and by etymologically related forms as Gk. *ὅσιος* adj. “sanctioned, hallowed, permitted, ritually pure, pleasing the gods, holy, pious” < **sot-i_ho-* “according to the true order”, *ἐτῶμος* adj. “true” < **setu-mo-* or Arm. *stoyg* “real” < **stéu-g^ho-* (cf. Martirosyan 2010, Beekes 2010: 1117f.).

In Hittite, this personal name occurs with aphaeresis, which is a common process in adapting or borrowing a proper name from a foreign language to another (cf. Gk. *Ἀχαι(φ)ία* against Luw. *Hiyawa*, Ugar. *Hiyawi*).

According to Pausanias (*Ελλάδος περιήγησις* 9.34.9: *πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων Ἀνδρεὺς Εὐίππην θυγατέρα Λεύκωνος λαμβάνει παρὰ Ἀθάμαντος γυναικα, καὶ υἱὸς Ἐτεοκλῆς αὐτῷ γίνεται*. “Even before this Andreus took to wife from Athamas Euippe, daughter of Leucon, and had a son, Eteocles.”) *Ἐτεοκλῆς* is the son of *Ἀνδρεὺς*, who founded the kingdom of Orchomenos and appears in the Hittite texts from Boğazköy as *Antarawas* (cf. Szemerényi 1988:266)

The main Hittite source for this PN is the so called *Tawagalawa* letter (KUB 14.3, CTH 181, VAT 6692).

The first edition was made by Sommer (1932:2f.) and more recently by Beckman et al. (2011: 101f.). *Tawagalawas* is mentioned three times in this document (KUB 14.3 i 1-5, i 71-4, ii 59-62). *Tawagalawas* is a nobleman, probably the brother of the King of Ahhiyawa, who is the addressee of the letter (ii 61) and is referred to as a great king (14.3 i 71). The Hittite king asks for the help of the king of Ahhiyawa in the matter of Piyamaradus's raids in Lukka lands. All these facts demonstrate indirectly that the major players in regional politics of Western Anatolia in the middle of the thirteen century BC were two contemporary Mycenaean rulers, namely *Tawagalawas* and the unnamed addressee of the letter, the king of Ahhiyawa. In another

passage of this letter (KUB 14.3. ii 61) it is reported, that the unnamed Ahhiyawan king was the “brother” of *Tawagalawas*. It is not necessary to suppose a kinship between the two (see the discussion on addressing below under Ahhiyawa). Regardless of whether they were brothers, it cannot be excluded, that they ruled over separate kingdoms within the Mycenaean world. Although, we do not have the list of Mycenaean rulers at disposal, in favour of such a hypothesis speaks the fact that Menelaos (ruler of Sparta) in Homer’s *Iliad* was a king, but at the same time his brother Agamemnon (ruler of Mycenae) has an attribute “King of the kings”.

As from the text, when we suppose that *Tawagalawas* was not an Ahhiyawan king, it is relevant to speculate, where then should his kingdom be situated. According to Taracha (2015:283f.) the passage of the Tawagalawas-letter (KUB 14.3 i. 1-5) suggests that it is not far from Lukka Land, as the people of this area (LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Lu-uq-qa-a = Gk. Λύκιοι “Lycians”) wouldn’t have begged for help in a remote kingdom, and therefore could be theoretically located in south-eastern Aegean, most probably Dodekanessos or Crete. Summing up: The historical as well as linguistic facts favour the Greek origin of the personal name *Tawagalas*.

4.

HLuw. *Mu-k(a)-sa-sa* /*Mukšaš*/, Hitt. ^m*Mu-uk-šú-uš* /*Muksu-*/ (fragmentary KUB 14.1 Rs. 75; Karatepe 112, 327) ~ Gk. *Μόψος*, Phoen. *Mpš* (cf. Hackstein 2011:41, Oettinger 2007:16f.; Laroche 1966:120, Miller 2014:13, Zgusta 1984:405 also with slightly different readings)

This anthroponym represents one of the instances of comparison between Greek and Anatolian, which was already recognized at the beginning of the 20th century.

Muksa- is attested on the Çineköy inscription (ca. 30 km to the south of Adana) dated between 8th-7th century BC. Tekoğlu and Lemaire (2000:963-985), editors of this text, stated that the *Muksu-* mentioned in Hittite Madduwatta-Text (CTH 147) stemming from ca. 14th century BC and *Muksa-* of the Çineköy inscription could represent the same person: „Il est possible que le Muksus du texte de Madduwattas ait été mentionné comme une personne liée à *Ahhiyawa*. Si cette relation était confirmée, elle pourrait être significative et la relation entre Muk(a)sas et *Hiyawa* pourrait correspondre à celle entre Muksus et *Ahhiyawa*.”

KUB 14.1 rev. 75 offers the earliest Anatolian attestation of the anthroponym in the form ^m*Mu-uk-šú-uš*. According to Yakubovich (2010:154) parallels like Hitt. *A-la-ak-ša-an-du-uš* ~ Gk. Ἀλέξανδρος /*Aléksandros*/ or Hitt. *Avarku* ~ Gk. *Eὔαρχος* /*Eúarkhos*/ (lit. “well-ruling,

governing well”): “testify to the fact that Anatolian u-stems represented a common, if not the only way of rendering the Greek thematic stems.”

On the other hand, scholars like Heubeck (1961:76) were against the identification of these figures.

The Phoenician version of this inscription is discussed in detail by Lipiński (2004: 127f.), who gives a more precise dating based on historical grounds, namely ca. 735 BC. *Muksa-* is here designated as Achaean king. In Hluw. *hi-ia-wa/i-ni-sá URBS REX-ti-sa* “Hiyawean king” (Hluw. *Hiyāwa-*, cf. Hitt. *Ahhiyāwa*, Myc. *Akhaiwo-*).

Another attestation of this PN is to be found on the Karatepe bilingual (Phoenician and Luwian) inscription (ca. 8th cent. BC) also known as Azatiwadas inscription. This inscription, found in 1946 by professor H. Bossert, represents the longest preserved Luwian and Phoenician bilingual text (61 lines) to date (cf. Hawkins 2000:51f.). It actually led to the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian. In the Luwian version of this inscription Azatiwadas, in whose name the Inscription is written, boasts that he ensured the accession to the throne of king Awarikus, who together with his family belonged to the house of *Muksas* (Luw. *Mu-ka-sa-sa-na DOMUS-ni-i*, Phoen. *bt mpš*).

In the Luwian version of the Karatepe inscription (§21, Ho) we read: “And I built a strong fortress on the frontiers, wherein bad men were: robbers, who had not fought under the house of *Muksas*” and in Karatepe §58: “...and much let them be in service to Azatiwadas and to *Muksas* with (the help) of Tarhunzas and the gods” (cf. Payne 2012:40 fn. 14, 41). The equation of *Muksas* with Gk. *Μόψος* also helps to explain other toponyms in the region of Pamphylia and Cilicia (e. g. *Mopsoupolis*). Interestingly the Phoenician version renders this personal name as *Mpš*, although the Phoenician writing system (cf. Segert 1976: 46ff.) was perfectly able to render the cluster of the Luwian or Hittite form. The toponyms *Mopsouhesita*, *Mopsopia*, *Mopsoukrene* or *Mopsoupolis* reflect the forms which were borrowed from Greek later when the development of labiovelar to unvoiced bilabial stop (IE **k^u* > Gk. *p*) had taken place (cf. Rix 1992:86f., Oettinger 2007:9).

This might hint, that the Greek form with *-p-* was in that time the default one. From this fact follows a more likelihood, that we are dealing with Greek personal name, because if this were an original Anatolian PN containing a IE labiovelar **k^u* (which appears in Anatolian as *-ku-*), we would according to sound laws expect Luw. **Mukussa-* and Hitt. **Mukussu-*

respectively and not the attested form /*Muksa-*/ and /*Muksu-*/ (IE **k^uis* “who” > Hit *kuis*, cf. Gk. *τις*, Lat. *quis*, etc.). (cf. Oettinger 2007:13, 2008: 64, EDHIL 488f.).

The labiovelar *-k^u-* was delabialized in the transmission from Mycenaean Greek (for the evidence see below) to Anatolian before the following sibilant *s* (NB before the sound change IE **k^u* > Gk. *p* took place). Despite the clear similarity of these anthroponyms in each language, there is no good reason to think that the Hittite PN and the anthroponym in the Luwian texts denote the same historical person, as the time gap between the Mycenaean and Luwian documents is approximately seven centuries (cf. Yakubovich 2010:155f.).

Furthermore, and interestingly enough, in analysing this inscription there arose disputes about the connection of the word for *Danuniyim* with Greek ethnicon *Δαναοί*. The Luwian version is in this passage unfortunately not preserved, but can be read in the Phoenician one (Karatepe §44).

Noteworthy in the case of these personal names corresponding to classical Greek *Μόψος* is the fact that in Mycenaean tablets from Knossos and Pylos written in Linear-B script the name of the ruler still retains the labiovelar *-k^u-*: Myc. *mo-qo-so* /*Mok^wso*/ (KN De 1381, PY Sa 774). This shows us that the Pre-Greek form should be **mok^wso-* (cf. Vanschoonwinkel 1990:197, Oettinger 2007:9).

In the epic Greek tradition, he is best known as son of Apollo and the Theban prophetess Manto, the daughter of Teiresias (Pausanias 7.3.1), who was himself a prophet. He founded an oracle at Klaros, where he defeated Kalchas in a contest between seers, and after emigration also many other sanctuaries and cities (e.g. Mopsuestia) in the plain of Cilicia (Oettinger 2008:63-66). According to the Lydian historian Xanthos (ca. 5th century BC), in whose fragments we read the name in a slightly different form, namely *Moxos*, he reached as far to the south as Ashkelon (765 F 17 Jacoby) (cf. Finkelberg 2006:151).

By Stephanus Byzantius his homeland is placed in Cilicia (*Μόψου ἔστι, πόλις Κιλικίας...*).

Strabo (Geographica 14.4.3.5):

Καλλῖνος δὲ τὸν μὲν Κάλχαντα ἐν Κλάρῳ τελευ-
τῆσαι τὸν βίον φησί, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς μετὰ Μόψου τὸν
Ταῦρον ὑπερθέοντας τοὺς μὲν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μεῖναι

τοὺς δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μερισθῆναι καὶ Συρίᾳ μέχρι καὶ
Φοινίκης.

“Callinus says that Calchas died in Clarus, but that the peoples led by Mopsus passed over the Taurus, and that, though some remained in Pamphylia, the others were dispersed in Cilicia, and also in Syria as far even as Phoenicia.”

Hieronymus, Chronicon, ann. 1184 BC.

Mopsus regnavit in Cilicia, a quo Mopsicrene et Mopsistiae

“Mopsus ruled in Cilicia, after him (are) Mopsicrene (lit. “Mopsos’s spring”) and Mopsitiae (lit. “Mopsos’s hearth”) (called).”

Plinius Naturalis Historia 5.96:

Pamphylia ante Mopsopia appellata est. mare Pamphylium Cilicio iungitur.

“The former name of Pamphylia was Mopsopia. The Pamphylian Sea joins up to that of Cilicia.”

Still other possibilities of the origin of Gk. *Μόψος* can be found in Oettinger (2008:63f.) or in Vanschoonwinckel (1990:185-211)

5.

Hitt. *Kukunni* <*ku-uk-ku-un-ni-iš*> ~ Gk. *Κύκνος* (Laroche 1966: 96)

He was king of Wilusa, predecessor of Alaksandu on the throne of Wilusa, or perhaps even his father (cf. Röllig 193f.). He is mentioned in the treaty between Alaksandu and Muwatalli II. In Greek tradition, he was connected with the Trojan hero *Κύκνος*. In roman literature, he figures in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (12.72ff.) as the son of Poseidon who was slayed by Achilles, therefore instinctively connecting him with the Trojan cycle.

According to García Ramón (2011: 34-35) this anthroponym is genuine Anatolian and the Greek meaning “swan” is just a secondary folk etymology (cf. Watkins 1986:49, Yakubovich 2010:123, fn. 63). In Kretschmer’s words a *Gräzisierung* (En. “Hellenization”). In favour of an Anatolian origin rather than a Greek could also be adduced the structurally parallel personal

names like *Pupullis*, *Zuzullis*, *Dudumis*, *Kukkulis*, *Kukkuwas* etc. (Güterbock 1986:34). A further argument in favour of this scenario is the attestation also in Lycian (cf. Röllig 1992:194).

The Anatolian anthroponym could be classified as *Lallname* with a reduplicated first syllable *ku-* and the typical hypocoristic suffix *-(n)na/i-* (Zehnder 2010:48). A possible connection can be made with Hitt. *kunna-* (adj.) ‘right (hand or side); right, favourable, successful’. In turn, the etymology of this word is quite problematic. The first attempt to explain this word etymologically was made by Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 89-90), who suggested the connection with Av. *spənta-*, Lith. *švėntas*, OCS *svętъ* ‘holy, sacred’, Ved. *śunám* ‘success(fully)’, which reflect an IE root **kuen-/kūn-*.

However, a direct connection of the Hittite form with Vedic *śunám* is not possible, as the form **kūn-o-* would yield Hitt. **kuna-* and not the attested Hitt. *kunna-*. Possible solution would be assuming a *-no-*stem, i. e. **kūn-no-* (Kloekhorst 2008:493) or as suggested by Melchert (1996: 162 with further references) to derive it from IE **kūh₂-no-* “the strong one”, with a sound law IE **Vh₂nV* > Hitt. *VnnV*. This hypothesis (first formulated by Neumann 1975:233) requires according to Melchert (1994:252) an additional assumption, namely a “Gutturalwechsel”.

6.

Hitt. *Muwatalli-* ~ Gk. *Μότυλος*

Gk. *Μότυλος* is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius, who lived around 520 AD and who wrote the work *Ἐθνικά* /*Ethnica*/, a lexicon of ancient geographical names. According to him *Μότυλος* (s. v. Samylia) should be the founder of the city of Samylia in Caria and the host of Paris and Helene. The possible parallel between *Muwatali-* and Gk. *Μότυλος* was first noticed by Paul Kretschmer (1924:205-213). This personal name is a denominative adjective derived from *muwata/i-* „might, potency, courage”. It has a transparent Anatolian structure and consist of two elements. The first one is a well-known lexeme *muwa-* “strength, power, might” - occurring according to Tischler (1982:213) in more than 40 names -, with a *-tti-* extension and the second one a derivational suffix *-alli-* with Luwian “i-mutation”, which corresponds to Hittite denominative suffix *-ala-*, expressing appurtenance and forming adjectives as well as substantives. Together the components of the formation convey the meaning “brave, valiant” (cf. Starke 1990: 173, Matzinger 2008: 50f., Melchert 2005: 455f., Melchert apud Parker 2013: 34, Zgusta 1964: 334 fn. 330, Güterbock 1986: 33, Röllig 1992:194).

Hitt. *Pariya-muwa-* in the etymological sense "exceptionally courageous, foremost in strength, pre-eminent in power, Germ. "hervorragenden Mut habend" ~ Gk. *Πρίαμος*

This possible connection was first noticed and taken into consideration by Laroche (1972: 126, fn. 32)

Pariya-muwa- was a Luwian man from Zazlipa in Kizzuwatna. The advantage in comparison to other anthroponyms lies in the possibility of localizing this historical person in a specific city or region respectively and classifying him within a Luwian ethnic group (cf. Watkins 1986: 54, 56).

Tischler (2002:77 fn. 4 with further literature) refuses this onomastic connection, because the frequent and very important Anatolian compound element *-muwa-* „strength, power, lit. corporal liquid, life energy” (e. g. also occurring with geographical names like *Ḫalpa-muwa*, *Ḫarrana-muwa*, *Ḫattusa-muwa*, *Gašga-muwa*, *Maša-muwa* or *Mittanna-muwa*.) of personal names and names of gods never results in Gk. *-mo-*. A similar formulation can be found in Starke (1997:458), who states that this connection should be abandoned because the Luw. suffix *-muwa-* corresponds in Homeric times to *-μυης* (or *-μυς*) and Luwian /u/ is rendered as Gk. *o* (respectively *ω*) only in Hellenistic-Roman times. At the same time Starke proposes an alternative solution. The equation could be right if the compound PN is shortened from **Πρίαμωης* → Gk. *Πρίαμος* (cf. Gk. *Πάτροκλέης* → Gk. *Πάτροκλος* „having fame descending from the father“, cf. Lat. *Patroclus*) (cf. Morpurgo-Davies 2000: 22).

The first part of this possessive composite is an adverb CLuw. *pariyan* /*priyan*/ “extra, eminently, exceedingly”, which is an extension of IE **pri* “forward, further”. The auslaut *-n* of the first element is assimilated without graphical reflex to the *m-* of the second member of this composite (cf. Zehnder 2010:37f., Dunkel Band II, 2014:639, fn. 48).

Other derivatives in support of Anatolian origin are to be seen in Luwian *mūwai-* „to be strong” or *muwattalla-* „strong” (cf. García Ramón 2011:35).

The fact that sons of *Πρίαμος* have Greek names (*Ἐκτωρ* and *Ἀλέξανδρος*) represents no obstacle for us in identifying this PN as an original Anatolian one, as we find this phenomenon also in the case of other PN. Moreover, though only one person, the son of Hector bears the Greek name *Ἀστυνάξ* /*Astyanaks*/ (lit. “protector/lord of the city”) besides the Anatolian name *Σκαμάνδριος* /*Skamandrios*/ after the river Scamander, which flows within the modern Turkish province of Çanakkale (cf. Yakubovich 2010:123).

8.

Gk. Πάρις Luw. *Pari-LÚ* **Pari-zitis* “over (the normal measure) man → hero” (cf. Luw. *zitis* „human, man”).

The Luwian anthroponym *Pari-LÚ* is a name of a scribe. It contains as its first part the adverb *pari-* < IE **pri* discussed above. In this case it occurs without extension (cf. Laroche 1966: 137, §942; García Ramón 2011:35). For linguistic reasons, this anthroponym can be classified as Luwian (cf. Watkins 1986:57), because the second component of this compounded personal name is Luwian. Concerning the structure, it could be compared with *Pariya-muwa-*. A minor difference is just in substitution of *-muwa-* with *-ziti-* (logographically *LÚ*). According to Tischler (1982:213) it is the most productive Hittite (more than 70 names) component of personal names.

To my knowledge, the problem not yet solved, is the svarabhakti vowel in the Greek form Πάρις and its absence in Πρίαμος (cf. Yakubovich 2010: 124). Laroche (1966:364f.) observes that towards the end of the Hittite kingdom there took place a massive change in the language, not just in morphology and syntax but also in lexicon and onomastics (Daues 2008: 8ff.). The amount of luwisms increased. Number of anthroponyms with Luwian element, like *-muwa-*, *-ziti-* (**ṁWalwaziti-* “Lionman” < *walwa/i-* “lion” + *-ziti-* “man” = *ṁUR.MAH-LÚ-i*) or *-wiya-* (e.g. *ṽParšanawiya-* „Panther-women, panther-like women”) is growing. The same holds true in the case of theonyms. These facts should reflect according to him the political situation of that era.

9.

Gk. Ὑρτάκος was the father of Asios. This anthroponym could represent an Hellenised form of Hittite *ḫartak(k)a-* „bear, wild animal” cognate with Ved. *ṛkṣa-*, YAv. *arəša-*, Gk. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*, Mlr. *art*, etc. < IE **h₂rtko-* „idem” (for an exhaustive analysis see Lipp 2009, Band II:133-188, NIL 2008:343; Kloekhorst 2008: 316; García Ramón 2011: 35, Watkins 1986: 54, Yakubovich 2010:124)

Homer, Ilias 13.771

Ἀσιάδην τ' Ἀδάμαντα καὶ Ἄσιον Ὑρτάκου υἱὸν

Adamas son of Asios and Asios son of Hurtakos

In Hesychios ὕρτακός · ὄστρεον “ὕρτακός · oyster”

Hitt. *Apaliunas* ~ Gk. *Ἀπόλλων* “Apollo” < *Ἀπέλλων* (DELG 98)

The pioneer work dealing with *Ἀπόλλων* stems from the pen of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1903), but his paper examines rather the literary side of this theonym. It is not surprising that the equation between Greek and Hittite form was first noticed by Forrer (1931:141-163), who reconstructed on the basis of Cypriote *Ἀπέιλων* /Apeilōn/ and Doric *Ἀπέλλων* /Apellōn/ a Proto-Greek preform **Apelḱōn* (cf. Frisk 1960: 124, for the Thessalian form *Ἄπλων* see Beekes 2003:4f). More recently this equation was defended by Güterbock (1986: 42ff.). Another piece of evidence comes from Mycenaean *[a-]pe-ro₂-ne* (KN E 842.3) (cf. Ruijgh 1967:274) and Cypriote *to-i-a-pe-i-lo-ni* (ICS 215, b 4) (*τῶι Ἀπείλωνι*) (cf. Watkins 1995: 149, Peters 1989:211-213).

The Hittite *a* in the second syllable corresponds to Greek *e* similar to the cases of Hitt. *Lazpa* ~ Gk. *Λέσβος* or Hitt. *Tawagalawa* ~ Gk. *Ἐτεοκλῆς* or Hitt. *Alakšanduš* ~ Gk. *Ἀλέξανδρος* (cf. Watkins 1986: 52ff.). The original Anatolian *-a-* became Greek *-e-* before the palatal **l'* and was later assimilated to *-o-* by following *-ōn* (cf. Beekes 2010:118f.).

This theonym is attested in the Alaksandu treaty (CTH 76), where after the extensive enumeration of the gods of the kingdom of Hatti, who were taken as witnesses of this treaty, to which the parties swore, the god name *Apaliunas* <[x]-ap-pa-li-u-na-aš> follows (KUB 21.1. IV 27), who is the god of Wilusa, thus representing the only Hittite text supplying us with information about its religion. Although the first sign is broken, there is not more space left before than for one sign and from the missing sign a double vertical stroke is recognizable, which speaks for a reading of an <a> (cf. Yakubovich 2010:121f.).

Furthermore, the context demands a theonym. As in most Anatolian-Greek correspondences it cannot be said for sure whether the equation is correct. On the other hand, it cannot be denied. For an Anatolian origin of this toponym speaks the fact that in Homer this god has the epithets *Λυκηγενής* „born in Lycia, Lycian-born” (Il. 4.101: *εὔχεο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγενεῖ κλυτοτόζῳ* “and vow to Apollo, the Lycian-born god, famed for his bow) and *Λύκειος* “Lycian”. Another argument in favour of this parallel consists in the fact that in the Iliad *Ἀπόλλων* stands on the side of Troy, i. e. Ilios and the Trojans (cf. Burkert 1985: 144ff.). This is also the conclusion of the detailed study of Beekes (2003: 1-21), who has shown that the proposal of Burkert (1975:1-21) to derive this theonym from Dor. *ἀπέλλα(ι)* “male society,

assembly” is not possible (see Miller 2014:204). Relatively new evidence also comes from archaeological excavations in Troia led by Manfred Korfmann (discussed in detail by Benzi 2009:450).

7. Toponyms

1.

Hitt. Toponym *Aḫḫiḫiayā* with byform Hitt. *Aḫḫiḫiā* ~ Gk. *Ἀχαί(φ)ία*, (for all the attestations Steiner 1964: 300, fn. 29) Ion. *Ἀχαΐη*, Greek ethnic group *Ἀχαιοί*

Unsurprisingly, the first scholar to draw the attention to this case was Forrer on 3. of January 1924 at the Berlin meeting of the Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, where he stated that *Aḫḫiḫiayā* mentioned in the Hittite documents of 14th – 13th centuries BC should refer to the maritime power of mainland Greece (cf. Szemerényi 2004: 68).

In Hittite texts, this toponym reoccurs almost thirty times in different contexts (cf. Latacz 2010:374, for attestations see del Monte-Tischler 1978:1). The most up to date overview also with unassignable texts is presented by Beckman et al. (2011:1f.)

Aḫḫiḫiayā, respectively the older form *Aḫḫiḫiā* comes up in various genres of Hittite documents, in letters, oracle-texts, administration-texts, in one contract and one prayer. However, some of them contain just very brief references, and therefore they are not very informative (cf. Röllig 1992:186, overview of passages mentioning *Aḫḫiḫiayā* in Huxley 1960:1-11). Most of the relevant documents pertaining to the so-called *Aḫḫiḫiayā*-Question (Germ. *Ahhiyawa-Frage*, Fr. *Question Achéene*) date to the New Hittite period at the time of the reign of Tudhaliya IV. and Suppiluliuma II., i. e. 1300 and 1200 BC, just one of them (Madduwatta's Indicement) stems from the Middle Hittite period at the time of the reign of Tudhaliya I./II. and Arnuwanda I., i. e. 1500 BC/1400 BC (cf. Bachvarova 2002:31, for the chronology and dating see Freu 1987:123-175). Afterwards followed the reign of Šuppiluliuma III., until the collapse, not only of Hittite kingdom, but of the whole Mediterranean area caused by sea people (?). Against this widely accepted hypothesis, see the plausible arguments based on new archaeological findings in Hattusa (cf. Cline 2014:124ff.). After this course of events the Hittites disappeared from the map of Anatolia, and what remained were just small successor states of the Hittite empire in south west Asia Minor and northern Syria till the 7th century BC, which are, although they are called in a few passages in the Bible *Hittim* (e. g. the husband of Bathsheba, Uriah the Hittite; in Hebrew: אֲרִיָּה הַחִטִּי *ʾŪrīyāh ha-Ḥitti*) - rather Luwians (cf. Oettinger 2007:7f., Niemeier 2012:147).

What is certain and follows from these documents is that the land of *Aḫḫiḫaiwā* was situated somewhere to the west from the Hittite kingdom, where direct official contact to the Hittites was possible. It has to be therefore located somewhere at the west coast of Anatolia (Asia Minor) or somewhere in the Aegean area, either on the islands or on mainland Greece.

Since Forrer's sensational discoveries (published both in the year 1924 in German periodicals MDOG and OLZ, see bibliography) and his assumption that in the case of Hitt. *Aḫḫiḫaiwā* we are dealing with the cuneiform rendering of the unattested Greek form **Achaiwa*, there have been attempts in the scholarly world to localize this country almost on every place in the whole area of the Aegean Sea. Forrer himself thought that this should be a great Greek kingdom around 14th-13th century BC, with the heartland first situated in Orchomenos (Boeotia) and afterwards in Mycenae (Argolis).

At the very beginning the so-called "Griechenhypothese" of Forrer (later also known as *Aḫḫiyawa-Frage*) in oversimplified formulation asks if the term *Aḫḫiḫaiwā* (and the older version *Aḫḫiya*) refers to the Achaeans, i.e. the Bronze Age Mycenaeans and where then this region should be located.

Forrer's hypothesis was found plausible by many supporters amongst philologists as well as amongst historians. However, there were also scholars, namely leading hittitologists of that time, like J. Friedrich, A. Goetze or F. Sommer, who were rather skeptical. In his work „Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden“ (1932) the latter denied all connections between Hitt. *Aḫḫiḫaiwā* and Gk. *Ἀχαι(φ)ία* from a linguistic as well as from a geographical point of view. All of Forrer's opponents supposed, that *Aḫḫiḫaiwā* was an autochthonous land in Asia Minor, although the precise localization couldn't be specified (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:198, for a detailed overview of the proposed localizations see Niemeier 1998: 17-26).

Textual evidence:

In Hittite texts, the kingdom of *Aḫḫiyawa* appears in the *Annals of Mursili II* (CTH 61). This document depicts the quarrel between Mursili II. on the one hand (ca. 1335-1318 BC) and *Uhha-ziti*, the king of Arzawa and Milawanda on the other (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 1977:93ff).

In these annals, we read that the king of Arzawa fled "across the sea" (*aruni parranda*) to the islands (*guršauananz pait*), to the kingdom of *Aḫḫiḫaiwā* by ship (§25). This is one of the first mentions of *Aḫḫiyawa* in Hittite documents. This implies that *Aḫḫiḫaiwā* should be located overseas in mainland Greece or in the Aegean Islands.

The related and more archaic form *Ahhiya*, without extension, appears in the so-called “*Indictment of Madduwatta*” (CTH 147) sometimes also referred to as “*Madduwatta text*” written in the reign of Arnuwanda I. and dated to the 15th century BC, from which just the first tablet is preserved.

The name “Indictment” is due to the content of the letter. Madduwatta, the addressee of this letter is namely blamed because of the defection which he committed against the father of the Hittite king (cf. Röllig 1992:187).

It describes the activities of a certain *Attarissiya* (vide supra), who is designated as “man of Ahhiya” (LÚ^{URU} *a-a[h-ḫi-i]a-a*) (cf. Zangger 1994:45, Benzi 2002:360). We witness in the letter, that Attarissiya came with one hundred chariots, which some scholars (e. g. Mountjoy 1998: 47) take as hint for localizing Ahhiyawa in Western Anatolia because it is not very probable that they were transported on the ships. However, this is no persuasive argument as they could be taken directly from a camp on the Anatolian territory.

It is without doubt the so-called “*Tawagalawas letter*” (VAT 6692, KUB 14.3, CTH 181), which represents the most important text for the localization of *Ahḫijauā* and played a major role in the Ahhiyawa-Frage (cf. Popko 1984:199-203, Heinhold-Krahmer 1986: 47-62, Röllig 1992:192f.).

It was first published by Forrer in 1929 and later by Sommer (1932:1f). More recent translations into English are that by Hoffner (2009: 296-313), Beckman (2011:101ff.) and into German by Miller (2006). An extensive list of recent publications about this letter can be found on http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=181

Its title is actually a misnomer and despite *Tawagalawas* occurring in the text, this individual plays a minor role in the letter (cf. Hoffner 2009: 297f, Singer 1983: 205-217).

The letter is dated usually to the middle of the 13th century BC (most probably to the time of the reign of Hattusili III. 1266-1236 BC). It was sent by a Hittite king to an unnamed king of Ahhiyawa (LUGAL KUR*ah-ḫi-ia-u-ua*). It informs us about the raids of a certain *Piyamaradus*, a renegade in Lukka Lands. The Hittite king begs in diplomatic terms *Tawagalawas* for help. The rest of the document is mainly devoted to the attempt of the king of Hatti to persuade the king of Ahhiyawa to extradite *Piyamaradus* (cf. Huxley 1960: 1f.). According to the texts, *Piyamaradus*, who is raiding the southwestern lands of the Hatti kingdom (i. e. the Lukka Lands), at the time when the king of Hatti entered Milawanda, already escaped by ship (§5 i 61-62) to *Ahhiyawa*, which suggests, that Ahhiyawa supported his raids

and was situated not far from the Anatolian mainland (cf. Benzi 2002:364, Beckman et al. 2011:119ff.).

Throughout the document the unnamed Ahhiyawan king is addressed by the king of Hatti, i. e. *Hattusili*, as “my brother, the Great King”. This was recognized (unlike by Forrer’s opponents) and used in favour of Forrer’s hypothesis by the Polish scholar Radoszek (1938:38f.). It has been written a lot on the greeting formula of Hittite documents and it is clear that it need not mean any kinship relationship (similarly as the salutation “*my son*” or “*my father*”), but such a greeting expresses rather the authority and diplomatic equality of the addressee. In the same document, the Ahhiyawan king is addressed by the Hittite King as my equal (Hitt. *ammel annauliš*) (cf. Hoffner 2009:300). This was the normal practice in Late Bronze Age also in various Near Eastern administrative texts or in Amarna Letters found in Upper-Egypt (cf. Cline 2015:143-150 with extensive references). From these facts follow that *Ahhiyawa* must have been a great power at the end of the second millennium BC (cf. Beckman et al. 2011:122, Beckmann 2016:2).

The attack of the king of Hatti against Ahhiyawa is described in the so-called **Sins of the Seha River Land** (KUB 23.13) from the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

The last important document mentioning *Ahhiyawa* is the *Sausgamuwa treaty* (CTH 105) concluded by Tudhaliya IV. with Šaušga-muwa the king of Ammuru (modern Lebanon). In the beginning of this document are find the description of the history of the relations between these two countries. This text shows us once again how important *Ahhiyauā* must have been because the king of *Ahhiyauā* is titled in the end as a great king (LUGAL.GAL) beside the kings of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria. In addition to this, the text suggests that Ahhiyawa was a maritime country (cf. Mountjoy 1998:49, Singer 1991: 69-74). This supposition is supported by numerous references to islands, ships and the sea in connection with Ahhiyawa (cf. Benzi 2002:364). These facts are in agreement with conclusions of Fritz Schachermeyr (1935: passim), who stated on historical and archaeological grounds, that Ahhiyawa was a maritime power to be identified with the Achaean Greeks with heartland in Mycenae, although at the same time adding that compelling proof is still absent.

It was the decipherment of Linear B and the identification of Mycenaean as early Greek by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick in 1952, that has shed new light on this topic and crossed

the *toten Punkt* (Sommer 1937:287) of the *Ahhiyawa-Frage*. Linear B texts provided material for re-evaluating not just this single toponym, but also several of the (above discussed) anthroponyms (e. g. *Ἐτεοκλῆς* or *Ἀλέξανδρος*). Mycenaean texts arose again the interest in the Ahhiyawa-Frage. Many of the Mycenaean documents showed the importance of Mycenaean Greece. They proved the basic correctness of Forrer's hypothesis and simultaneously the erroneousness of Sommer's strict denial of all Hittite-Greek comparisons (e. g. Sommer 1932:365ff.).

In the tablets from Knossos it is attested the form <*a-ka-wi-ja-de*> /Akhaiwiān-de/ "to Ahhiyawa" (KN C 914) with a local (deictic) postposition Myc. *-de* = Gk. *-δε* „to” governing the accusative of direction, often called also allative. (cf. *οἴκαδε* = *οἰκόνδε* “to one's house, home, or country, homewards”, *φύγαδε* “to flight”, *οὐρανόνδε* “to the heaven”) (Chadwick 1863:178, Risch-Hajnal 2006: 197, Beekes 2010:307, Dunkel LIPP II: 148)

The Mycenaean Greeks called themselves **Ak^haiwó-* (cf. Meier-Brügger 2010:435, Chantraine 1968:149), this form yielded (with the loss of digamma /f/) already in Homeric Greek *Ἀχαιοί*, which is one of the three names for Greeks by Homer, beside *Ἀργεῖοι* (after the city *Ἄργος*) and *Δαναοί*. The historicity of the name *Δαναοί* and its relation to West Anatolia is ascertained by Egyptian sources from the reign of Thutmosis III (1479-1425 BC) and his son Amenophis II (1428- 1397 BC) (see Haider 2003: 174ff).

At this point it has to be mentioned as well the unfortunate hypothesis concerning the connection of *Ὑπαχαιοί* with the Caucasian nation called by the Greeks *Ἀχαιοί*. Their non-Indo-European origin was first expressed by Tomaschek (1893:204,205) and elaborated by Fick (KZ 41, 1906:346; KZ 47, 1916:171). This idea has to be, in my opinion rejected, because of the lack of any plausible historical data supporting such migration.

When we are dealing with the ethnonym *Ὑπαχαιοί*, which also has some bearing on the topic, we have to think and see it in a broader scope. For example Herodot's passage: *Κίλικες... οὗτοι τὸ [μὲν] παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην* „These Cilicians were formerly called Hypachaei, and took their name from Cilix son of Agenor, a Phoenician” (Historiae 7.91) it gains on historical credibility when we bear in mind that there are good reasons to suppose that Greeks were really in Cilicia, i.e. they colonized this region and mingled with the aboriginal inhabitants of the southern Asia Minor. This is indirectly shown as well by the presence of the PN *Muksas* ~ Gk. *Μόψος* (see above).

How we are then to interpret the meaning is another question. After a detailed discussion of the prefix *ὑπό-* and its usage, Kretschmer (1933:213-257) refuses in this special case the geographical interpretation and explains the ethnonym *Υπαχαιοί* (lit. *sub-Achaeans*) as “*Misch- or Halbachäer = barbarisierte Griechen*” (see also Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:199, Finkelberg 2006:12, Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 981-984, McMahon 2011: 24), which fits in nicely with the Greek colonization of Cilicia (cf. *Muksa-*).

In Latin, this anthroponym corresponds to sg. *Achīvus* “Greek (person)”, pl. *Achīvī* “Greeks”, which represents another proof of the digamma (*f*) and thus speaks for a preform **Achaiwoi*.

In Egyptian sources, this toponym comes up as *ʿqjwʿš* /Aqaiwaša/. It is attested on the Mernaptah inscription (1227 BC) in Karnak, where the first part of the Egyptian form continues the Greek designation for the geographical name **Achaiḫa* and the suffix *-ss-* is added to denote the inhabitants of the land. The productivity of this suffix is shown by other names of foreign nations (for more examples see Kretschmer 1933: 230, Forrer ZDMG 26: 281f.).

Forrer’s *Griechenhypothese* was preceded by the so-called *Ahhiyawa-Frage* which played also a certain role in the *Ahhiyawa-controversy* (cf. Sommer 1932: 358ff., Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:197, with further references).

Streitberg (1896) already held for certain, that the forms Gk. *Ἀχαιοί* and Egypt. *ʿAqajwaša* are identical, although the first hypothesis of this connection comes from the pen of French Egyptologist Emmanuel de Rougé (1867: 39f.). The actions of this nations, mentioned in Egyptian sources, are situated in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. In the inscription is written that the people had no foreskin, i. e. they had to practice circumcision. Although this custom is primarily connected with Ethiopia, Egypt, Nubia, Palestine or Phoenicia, I see no obstacle in this fact as the historians (e. g. Herodotus *Historiae* 2,104) have informed us of this custom being taken over by other nations (Kretschmer 1933:225).

In Luwian this toponym is attested with aphaeresis as *Hiyawa* <*hi-ya-wa/i-*>, namely in the Luwian-Phoenician bilingual, found in 1997 in Çineköy, about 30 km to the south of the modern Turkish city Adana (the respective name of the ancient city is preserved in Luwian on the Çineköy as well as on Karatepe inscription as *Adanawa*) (cf. Payne 2012:44).

The dedicant of this inscription (ca. 720 BC) refers to himself (in the Luwian version) as *hi-ia-wa/i[-ni]sá* (URBS) REX-*ti-sa* ‘Hiyawean king’ (cf. Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 968, §I, Schmitz 2008:6)

It is a royal inscription celebrating the career and enterprises of Warikas, king of the kingdom *Hiyawa*. It has been recognized (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000), that this ruler should be

identified with *Awarikus* (Pheon. 'WRK) of the Karatepe inscription, although the one form with initial *a-* and the other with aphaeresis is still not satisfactorily explained.

According to Oettinger (2007:10) aphaeresis occurs quite common in borrowing of proper names. He adduces further example in support of this hypothesis, namely the case of Lycian *Puljanida* for Greek *Ἀπολλωνίδης* /*Appolōnīdēs*/ and states that aphaeresis occurs just by borrowing of foreign proper names (cf. **Etewoklewes* > **Atawaklawas* > Hitt. *Tawagalawas*). The same happened in Ugarit, where around 1200 BC the form *Hiyawi* is attested. Further examples of adapting foreign toponyms include: Hitt. ^{URU}*At-ta-ri-im-ma-* ~ Lyc. *trñmile/i-* "Lycian" (cf. Hajnal 2003: 41, fn. 67, Kronasser 1962:33ff. with further lit., Singer 2006: 250ff., Melcher 2004: 70f.)

The king's name *Warikas* corresponds to *Urikki/Urik* in the Neo-Assyrian sources of the second half of the 8th century, in which *Ahhiyaṣa* is rendered as *Quwe/Que*, mentioned for example in this form for the first time in the inscription of Shalmaneser III., where the *u* arose probably due to progressive assimilation to *w* (cf. Lanfranchini 2005: 481ff., for attestations Kretschmer 1933:233ff.).

To Luwian *Hiyawa* corresponds in the Phoenician version the form *dnnym* "inhabitants of Adana". When we take all the Hitt. *Ahhiyaṣa*, Luw. *Hiyawa*, Gk. *Ἀχαιοί* / *Ἰπ-αχαιοί* (vide supra) as etymologically related, it would speak for an early Greek colonization of Cilicia. This hypothesis would be supported by the existence of Gk. *Μόψος* (Phoen. *Mpš*, see above), who migrated from the area of Aegean Sea, probably from Ahhiyawa, to Cilicia and therefore could be connected with the spread of this toponym to the area of Adana (cf. Yakubovich 2013:190). One more fact speaking in favour of such scenario are the Greek names of the rules of *Hiyawa*: Luv. *á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-* = *Awarku* (cf. Gk. *ἐναρχός* 'well-ruling') and *wa/i-ra/i-i-ka-* = *Wr(a)ika* (cf. Gk. *(F)ποικός* 'crooked') (cf. Miller 2014:13, for further discussion, see Forrer 1924, Fischer 2010, Gütrebock 1986, Taracha 2001, Bryce 2003; Bryce 2009:10f; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004, 2007), Teffeteller (forthcoming), Burney 2004:6-7; Sommer 1947:24)

Commentary: The question about pure sound correspondence has often been put under scrutiny. Part of the scholarly community stress the unsystematicity of the borrowing (Heinhold-Krahmer) and subsequent impossibility of verifying the material. Others (e. g. Hajnal) are less sceptical in this point of view and on the contrary, say, that it is exactly the scientific linguistic attitude which can set the corresponding names on a firm ground. A fact, which make the equation of the Hittite and Greek forms difficult, is the time gap standing between them. The

Hittite *Ahhiyawa* is attested ca. in 14th century BC, whereas early Greek literary *Ἀχαι(φ)ία* in Homer is usually dated to 8th century BC. In addition to that, it is precisely the time when in the Greek language many phonetic changes took place (e. g. the “loss” of digamma which is still present in Mycenaean Greek and leaves metrical traces in Homer, the already Mycenaean weakening of IE **s > h > Ø / V_V*, or the loss of the semivowel **j*, which still results in hiatus effects within Homeric Greek).

Greek *Ἀχαι(φ)ία* can be taken as a feminine adjective, with an ellipsis of Gk. *χώρα* “land” or Gk. *γῆ* “country” (cf. Kretschmer 1933:227f.)

The main problem from a linguistic, or rather from a formal point of view is the correspondence between the middle cluster *-iya-* in the Hittite word and Greek *-ai-*, which was also Sommer’s major argument against Forrer’s supposition (cf. Sommer 1932:354ff., Finkelberg 1988:128ff., Oreshko 2013:27f.).

Forrer (1924a) claimed that Hitt. *-iyaw-* corresponds to Gk. *-ai-* and that in Hittite the unaccented *-aji-* borrowed from Greek develops to *-ija-* (Kretschmer 1930: 163, Laroche 1961: 61f., Szemerényi 1988: 267). Thus, according to him the Hittite form *Aḫḫijaṽ* could have developed from **Aḫḫajivā = Ἀχαι(φ)α*. He adduces just one parallel, namely the geographical name <ṽis-ja-na-ṽa-an-ta> /Uṽiana-ṽanta/ “Wine-city ← the place rich on wine”, KBo IV 3 1 18 (in the contract between the Hittite king *Muršiliš II* and *Kupanta-^dKAL*, king of the Luwian states *Mira* and *Kuṽaliṽa*) which corresponds to the Greek form *Οἰνόανδα* (lat. *Oenianda*) (upper Xanthos valley) in Lycia (Strabo XIII 631, Plinius, Nat. Hist. V 101) cf. Gk. (φ)οῖνος. But the Greek form is only a later epichoric adaptation to the original Luwian form /uṽian(a)-ṽanta-/ (see Lipp, Hrozný conference Prague 2015, Heubeck 1985:64 fn. 29, Silvestri 1974: 266-274). From this parallel development of the cluster, albeit not very common (for typological parallels from other languages cf. Kretschmer 1933: 232), it seems as if the supposition of Forrer is justified, but for the secondary character of Greek *Οἰνόανδα* as epichoric adaptation of an older Luwian toponym /uṽian(a)-ṽanta-/ it is to be rejected nevertheless.

It has been proposed by Yakubovich (2013:191) that Luwians could have adopted a shortened form **ahhiya-* on the base of the original Greek designation **ak^haiwoi*. Similar stem-truncation by *-(i)ya-* can be seen by adaptation of Hurrian names in Hittite (cf. Zehnder 2010: 70).

Another way around, how we could get rid of this problem is assuming that the original Greek form undergone vowel breaking (also known as vowel fracture or diphthongization) in Anatolian as it is seen e. g. by the word CLuw. *miyasa-* beside *misa-* ntr. = /*mīsa-*/ ‘flesh, (body part)’ < **mēs-a-* < PIE **més* ntr. < ***mém-s* ~ PIE **mēms-ó-* (Ved. *mās-* ~ *māms-á-*, Goth. *mimz* ntr. ‘idem’, etc.) (cf. Melchert 1993: 149, Lipp 2015:12). Under this assumption we can imagine the development of *-*ai-* > Proto-Anat. *-*ē-* > * Anat. -*ī-* > CLuw. -*iya-*. The evidence of Proto-Anatolian diphthongs is scarce and the PA short i-diphthongs point to monophthongization in Luwian (cf. Melchert 1994:265). This process may be conditioned or unconditioned, triggered by stress or by phonetic surrounding.

The second discrepancy is the representation of the consonant in the second syllable (cf. Sturtevant 1951: 17). In other words, the question if the Hittite geminate -*hh-* can render the Greek -*χ-* (cf. Harmatta 1968: 118ff., Sommer 1932: 350ff.).

Concerning the etymology, there have not been offered to my knowledge, many attempts and respective solutions. Worth mentioning is that of Onofrio Carruba (1995:7-21), who connected the name with the PIE word for water **ak^ua* and the name for the Aegean Sea (Gk. *Aiḡaῖon*). He suggests that the name *Ahhiya* is the designation for the whole area of the Aegean Sea and *Ahhiyawa* (with the extension -*wa*) is then the ethnic name referring to the people of *Ahhiya*. Unfortunately, there is no support for such an explanation, as all the parallel forms with -*wa* clearly denote toponyms and not the inhabitants of the particular land (e. g. *Arzawa*, *Zalpawa* < *Zalpa*, etc.). Heinrich Otten (1973) convincingly argues that due to the base form and the extended form occurring side by side, one of them should refer to the city and the other to the surrounding region.

The reconstruction is not without problems (for the argumentation see Hajnal 2003: 39, fn. 61). In general, I agree with Carruba’s statement that there were Greeks living in Anatolia already during the Mycenaean period, albeit the plausibility of phonetic development and the morphological development of all the related toponyms in the Aegean area, which the author wants to connect (like *Ἀχαΐα*, *Αἴγιον* or *Αἴγινα*) and use in support of his explanation are hard to accept (cf. Benzi 2002:363).

Still another explanation is given by Bader (1998:73-74, 1999: 43-45, see also Nikolaev 2007:162), who reconstructs a Proto-form **mgh₂-ei-uo-* > Gk. *Ἀχαι(φ)οί*.

At any rate, we have to count with the possibility that the correspondence between the Greek and Hittite form could be a folk etymology or the difficulties to discover the morphophonemic structure of these two seemingly parallel forms reflect an earlier intermediate pre-Greek substrate and that the corresponding forms therefore do not actually reflect the structure of either Greek or Hittite. Nowadays, despite some different opinions, there is a growing consensus that the equation of Hitt. *Ahhiyawa* and Gk. *Ἀχαιοί* is right and should rather be identified with a great Greek (sc. Mycenaean) confederacy, which was politically united or just only a conglomerate state controlled by Mycenaean Greeks rather than a single Greek state (cf. Yakubovich 2013: 190, Hoffner 2009:298). Thus, the Catalogue of Ships ΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ in Iliad (2.499-773) - generally regarded as one of the oldest portions of the Iliad among other reasons also by the similarity with the An-Series from Pylos, the so-called oka-tablets (cf. Hajnal 2003:56) - is a mirror, reflecting the realities of the Late Bronze Age Aegean area. It gives space for more simultaneously coexisting, more or less equal states (cf. Taracha 2015: 285, for the history of the Catalogue of Ships and its relation to Iliad and Homer see Jachmann 1958, Bennet 1997:511 fn. 2 with further references, Austin 1968, more recently Visser 1997, for an overview of various opinions and approaches to the study of the Catalogue see Kullmann 2001:92-94), which might in the course of time have been incorporated into a single one.

Thus, a recent argument by Kelder supports this notion (2010:120) that Ahhiyawa comprised “the (larger part of) Peloponnese, the Thebaid, various islands in the Aegean and Miletus on the Anatolian west coast, with Mycenae as its capital.” (cf. Beckman et al. 2011:4f.)

Such a hypothesis is supported by the new archaeological findings, like homogenous Mycenaean-type pottery, burials and other artefacts, which were not confined just to mainland Greece but suggest a united culture (scil. Mycenaean) of the area of the coastal zone of the Aegean Sea comprising Chios, Samos and Rhodes and last but not least the western coast of Asia Minor, in particular Miletos (cf. Gates 1995: 289-298, Bennet 1997: 518, Hope Simpson: 2003:205). Still another argument against the localization of Ahhiyawa on the western coast of Asia Minor is the fact that the whole area is already immensely filled up with other lands, leaving no space for yet another political entity. This so-called *Ausschlussprinzip*, i.e. the attempt to show where the other lands should be localized, reveals where the searched country could not have been. This strategy is also employed in the localization of Wilusa (cf. Brosch 2004:5, Mountjoy 1998:49f., Hawkins 1998:30).

HLuw. *Taruiza*-, Hitt. ta-ru-(-ú)-i-ša /*Truisa*/ ~ Gk. Att. *Tpoia*, Ionic *Tpoiη*, (DNP 852-868, del Monte-Tischler 1978:408 with references, Latacz 2010: 144ff., 369f.; Sommer 1947:24). Zgusta (1984:635) denies the connection without reason. For the first time, a possible connection between *Taruisa* and Gk. *Tpoia* was mentioned by Emil Orgetorix Forrer (MDOG 1924:6).

The only attestation in Hittite texts, which indirectly informs us about the geographical location are the so-called “Annals of Tudhaliya” (KUB 23.11 II 13’–37’ // KUB 23.12 II 4’–22’), dating back to ca. 1400 BC. This text includes a list of twenty countries of the so-called “Assuwa coalition”. They are ordered from south to north. At the end of this list stands the *hapax legomenon* *Taruisa* side by side with *Wilusa* which makes clear, that they couldn’t denote an identical area (cf. Yakubovich 2010:119).

This means that the situation in the Hittite text is different from that of Homer’s. In Hittite, the functional distinction between *Wilusa* and *Taruisa* is kept, unlike in Homer’s Iliad (comprising 15693 hexameters), where the two names Ilios and Troia are used arbitrarily. This fact is sometimes adduced as a discrepancy preventing the identification of these two toponyms in Hittite and Greek, respectively (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:156). As will be shown below, this however, can also have its reasons and be theoretically explained.

The whole coalition was defeated by Tudhaliya as read in the following passage:

KUB 23. 11/12 Vs. II 33f.:

[mā]n KUR ^{URU}aššuwa ḫarnikun nu EGIR-pa ^{URU}KÜBBAR-ši arḫa [úu]n

„after I destroyed the land of Assuwa, I returned to Hattusa.“

(overview and translation can be found in Garstang-Gurney 1959:105f., Güterbock 1986:39f., Hajnal 2003:33).

The only further possible occurrence is seen on the silver bowl from Ankara, with two inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian (transcription and translation according to Hawkins 2005:194):

zi/a-wa/i-ti caelum-pi *A-sa-ma-i(a) REGIO.HATTI VIR₂ (*273)i(a)-sa5-zi/a-tà REX Ma-zi/akar-hu-ha rex prae-na

Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a-wa/i(REGIO) REL+ra/i MONS.[tu] IUDEX+la hu-la-i(a)-tá

*a-wa/i-na *a-pa-ti-i(a) ANNUS-i(a) i(a)-zi/a-tà

„This bowl Asmaya, the man of the land Hattusa, dedicated(?) for himself before King Maza-Karhuha,

when Tudhaliya Labarna smote the land of Tarwiza –in that year he made it “

Although, the connection of cuneiform *Taruisa* with Hieroglyphic Luw. *Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a* is tempting, because of the identification with the campaign and victory against the Assuwa coalition mentioned in the annals of Tudhaliya above, on epigraphic as well as historical grounds (for example the mentioning of the god Maza-Karhuha) this hypothesis has rather to be rejected. *Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a* could be localized in northern Syria (further discussion about the problem of dating this inscription in Gander 2015:462). The existence of two or even more places with the same name (e. g. Engl. *Newcastle*, Germ. *Neustadt* or Gk. *Νεάπολις*, etc.) is unfortunately for us a very common phenomenon. A specific toponym is often taken by an ethnic group in the course of its migration (cf. the abundance of European place names across the world, e. g. 9 towns with the name Paris in America or Prague founded by Czech immigrants in Oklahoma, USA).

The first interconsonantal *a* in *ta-ru-(-ú)-i-ša* is just due to graphic convention of Hittite cuneiform writing system, although a suggestion to connect this toponym etymologically with the Hitt. *taru-* “tree, wood” has been made (e. g. Neumann 1994: 95).

The sign *-ú-* is just a duplicate (cf. Forrer 1924:1-22, Sommer 1932: 370-371, Kretschmer 1924:213, Güterbock 1986: 39).

Second member of this toponym is the suffix *-is(s)a-*. This suffix is (beside *-us(s)a-*) a very common and wide spread one for forming place names. To give just a few examples: Alhisa, Alisa, Apkuisa, Athulissa, Athimisa, Gurtalissa, Hahisa, Harpisa, Ilissa, Karkisa, etc. The other suffix is seen in place names such as Alusa, Artussa, Astimahussa, Huwalusa, Kiskilussa, Wilusa (vide infra), Wawankussa, Salusa, Tappilussa, Zarnusa, etc. (for further examples and discussion see Neuman 1994:93ff.). The alternation of *u ~ i* in the anlaut of the suffix is not entirely clear. It is possible, that the original suffix was *-issa-*, but when attached to a stem which has *-u-* in the auslaut, the *-i-* of the suffix was deleted. On the other hand, such an explanation is problematic, because there are counterexamples (e. g. Apkuisa, Palhuisa, Taruisa).

A possible chronological middle step between the Hittite and Homeric attestations is offered by Mycenaean anthroponym *to-ro-wo* (PY An 519.1) = Gk. *Τρωός*, a genitive sg. of Gk. *Τρώς* „Trojan man, the Trojan” (cf. Milani 1998:265, Benzi 2002: 366, García Ramón 2016: 54f.).

In Homer's epos beside the name for the city of Ἰλίου the Ionic form Τροίη is used (in other dialects it is still with long *a*, e. g. in Pindar or Sappho is measured Τροΐᾶ three-syllabically: ~ ~ ~). The Ionic form Τροίη = Att. Τροία goes back to *Troih_a with Greek intervocalic IE *-s- > *-h- > Gk. -θ-, i. e. Ionic Τροίη = Att. Τροία < *Troihā < *Troisā (cf. Rix 1976:76f.). This sound change, which took place in Greek allows a relative formal comparison of Hitt. *Taruisa* and Gk. Τροίη. The form Τροίη is attested in Iliad more than thirty times (cf. Peters 1980: 294, 304).

The alternation in usage of the form Ἰλίου and Τροία in Homer's Iliad is strongly blurred. There can be detected just a very few semantic variations like in cases between the usage of πόλις and ἄστυ for the designation of upper (fortified acropolis) and (civil) lower town respectively. In general, πόλις counts as an old name for a castle or fortress (cf. Frisk 1960:576-7, Chantraine 1968: 926) and ἄστυ < *ḡástu, cf. Myc. *wa-tu* (KN X 114, PY Eq 887, Tn 316) (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963: 178: "the town" as opposed to the Palace?), Frisk 1960:173, Chantraine 1968:129), which continues a *tu*-derivative of an IE root *h₂ues- "to dwell, to live" (LIV² 293, IEW 72, 1170-71) denotes the civil lower town. It is above all the etymologically related analogies with Vedic *púr-* f. "fortification, palisade" (cf. Mayrhofer 1996:145) and Ved. *vāstu-* ntr. „dwelling, house" (cf. Mayrhofer 1996:549), which makes the assumption of the distinction between upper walled town and civil lower town plausible. This assumption is backed up by archaeological findings which testify, "that Troy in the Late Bronze Age had a citadel and a lower city appropriate to the capital of a significant regional power in western Anatolia." (Easton et al. 2002: 106)

E. g. Mannsperger (2002) comes for philological reasons to the conclusion, that: "Attributloses Ἰλίου bezeichnet bei Homer immer die Stadt des Priamos..., Τροίη dagegen die jene umschließende Landschaft". The distribution of these two forms is driven in the vast majority by metrical means. This suggests that they can denote, at least in later times, two names for the same place which can be substituted for stylistic reasons (to prevent the usage of the same term), and thus no objective functional difference is visible. A possible scenario is to my mind that originally there have been two separate words, which designated different things (as the etymological parallels suggest), but in the course of the oral transmission of Homeric epics, these two terms were confused and used arbitrary (cf. Weilhartner 2000:201).

There is still another open question, which even in the future will probably remain unanswered: Did Homer reflect in his epics the difference between upper fortified town and lower civil town by seeing the ruins of the city, or is this distinction just a result of a long oral tradition? There are no arguments which can definitively decide, but it should be mentioned,

that the latter hypothesis cannot be excluded, because it is one of the most eminent features of the early epic poetry to preserve archaisms. However, despite its antiquity, the majority of scholars nowadays are inclined to explain the morphological and phonological innovations (which would speak for unbroken oral tradition) shared by Mycenaean and Homeric Greek in a different way (for details see Weilhartner 2000:200ff., with references, cf. West 1988: 161, West 1973:179-192 for evolution of poetry in broader IE context, Bennet 1997:526f., Hackstein 2002:5; 2011:26: “Die Wurzeln des Hexameters sind indogermanisch, seine Ausformung geschah aber erst innergriechisch”).

For an unbroken oral epic tradition, without the aid of writing, reaching to Homer’s time (ca. 800-700 BC) speaks the phraseological (i. e. characterized by literary formulas) language, which is a specific feature of oral tradition and rhapsodes all over the world (cf. Hackstein 2002:2). We can compare typologically the situation with Vedic, where the sacred texts (Vedas) composed in the middle of the second millenium BC, were orally transmitted by the brahmans up to now (cf. Witzel 2003: 24: “Diese Texte (sc. Veda) wurden in archaischem Sanskrit ohne Kenntnis der Schrift verfasst und sind bis heute (fast) ohne Textänderungen streng mündlich wie eine 3000 Jahre alte «Tonbandaufnahme» überliefert worden.”). A parallel situation is offered by Germanic. In the case of the Hildebrandslied, written in alliterative verse, the heroic poem was orally transmitted for more than 300 years (cf. Lühr 1982). Still another examples that oral traditions of heroic poetry can persist for many centuries are to be seen in East Slavic *byliny* or South Slavic epic poems, described in the works of Matija Murko (1908) and Milman Parry (1930, 1932) (cf. West 1988:151f., Miller 2014: 87ff.).

From these examples follows that remarkable historical events can be transmitted through a very long period by means of poetry composed in verses, although they may present the facts in slightly changed version. In other words, the poems are not a factual literature, but there is still a strong likelihood that they reflect some real events to a certain degree (cf. Oettinger 2007:8).

Another reason is the above-mentioned hexameter verse reaching to the middle of the second millennium BC, which permits the assumption of the existence of the conservation and oral tradition already in pre-Mycenaean period, i. e. Late Bronze Age, albeit they are separated from Homer at least by half century equating to ca. eighteen generations and perhaps as many as twenty (cf. Bennet 1997:513). These premises could presuppose not just the distinction of two names for a city, but also the preservation of the themes and realities of the material, from

which Homer could take inspiration for his epics, if one presupposes the historicity of the Trojan war (cf. Hajnal 2003:63f., Latacz 2010:360-368, Bryce 1998: 392-404, Kullmann 2011:110ff.).

Evidence for estimating the age of epic traditions comes from the archaeological findings, which match with some description in Iliad and Odyssey. There is the *ἀσπίς ἀμφιβρότη* “sheltering shield” (Il. 2.389), which should reflect the Mycenaean era, further Meriones’s helm made of boar’s tusk (described in Il. 10, 260-265), which was also found in a Mycenaean grave of a warrior in Dendra, and the writing tablets *πίναξ πτυκτός* (Il. 6,169), which were also found in the shipwreck in Uluburun (cf. Hackstein 2011:41). As we now know, Schliemann was mistaken when he thought the Mycenaean tombs where of Agamemnon and his companions as well as the objects found in them to be of the Trojan War, because the Mycenaean shaft graves originated from the very beginning of the Mycenaean period and are therefore several centuries older than the traditional date of the Trojan war. Nevertheless, it could be reflected in the epics as some model of the narration (cf. Niemeier 2012:146).

According to Beekes (2010:1511) the name *Τροία* formerly used to designate the whole region, displaying the epithets *εὐρείη* „wide, broad”, *εὐτείχεος* “well-walled”, *εὐπυργος* “well-towered” *εὐρύαγυια* „with wide streets”, suggest and confirm that already in Homeric times the meaning was narrowed just to the city of Troy. On the other hand, with *Ἰλιος* we find epithets like *ἠνεμόεσσαν* “windy, airy” or *αἰπεινή* “lofty, high”, which would rather be a designation of the upper town.

In Manfred Korfmann’s article (2002:218-129), we find a detailed list (following C. Maurice Bowra) of the epithets associated with Troia:

1. General epithets which could be applicable to many places and occur more frequently elsewhere:

- a. *εὐκτίμενος* good to dwell in
- b. *ἐρίβωλος* with large clods very fertile
- c. *ἐριβῶλας* fertile fruitful
- d. *ἐρατεινός* lovely
- e. *εὐρεῖα* broad (wide-spread, far-reaching)
- f. *ἱρέη* sacred (pleasing to the gods or to a god)

2. Special epithets for the city and Citadel of Ilios, which applied only to a few other places:

- g. *αἰπός* steep, steeply sloping, lofty

- h. ὑψηπυλος high-towering, with high gates
 - i. ἡνεμόεσσα airy, windy
 - j. εὐρύαγνια broad or wide-wayed, with wide streets
 - k. εὐναιόμενος well-peopled in the sense of well-situated, well organized
3. Epithets reserved exclusively for the city and Citadel of Ilios/Troia:
- l. εὐτείχεος well-built (architecture)
 - m. εὐδμητος well-walled, well-fortified
 - n. εὐπυργος well-towered, with goodly towers
 - o. ὀφρυόεσσα beetling, on the brow of the rock
 - p. ἄστυ μέγα large city
 - r. εὐπωλος with fine colts, breeding fine colts

For further discussion of the attributes of Troia see Mannsperger (2002 with references). These facts show that there has been a distinction in usage between πόλις and ἄστυ. In addition to the above listed epithets, there are some passages in the Iliad which speak clearly of this division. Thus, for example in the 24th book of the Iliad, the picture of the lower town is vivid, because as Priamos drives his chariot from his palace on the fortified castle in order to pick up and transport the corpse of Hector from the Greek camp, he has to pass *κατὰ ἄστυ* „through the city” (Il. 24.322-329) (further scenes in favour of this distinction are discussed in detail by Weilhartner 2000:202f.).

Herodot places *Τρωάς* in the north-west of Asia minor. In his work *Historiae* (5.26.3-4) we read: ...*Ἄντανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῆν*... „Antandrus in the Troad“
Antandrus represents modern Balıkesir in the north-west of Turkey.

The boundaries of *Τρωάς* were already described by Herodotus. One instance of demarcation of this area we find in Homer's Iliad (2.825-826):

ἀφνειοὶ πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσέποιο Τρῶες

„men of wealth, that drink the dark water of Aesepus, even the Troes”

Besides linguistic there is also archaeological evidence which made the precise description of the geographical location of Troy possible. Homer says, that it is located on Hellespont (Dardanells), with the hill Ida to the south-east, with the islands Tenedos and Ilios

to the west and Samothrace in more remote distant, from which hills one could see Homer's Troy (cf. Niemeier 2012: 141, Latacz 2010: 45f., Luce 1998:21-53).

Such descriptions of the landscape led the archaeologists to the right place. Since the beginning of the excavations on the hill Hissarlik undertaken in chronological order by Frank Calvert, Heinrich Schliemann, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Carl W. Blegen, Manfred Korfman, Peter Jablonka and Ernst Pernicka (cf. Herrmann 1990: passim, Latacz 2010:54f., Niemeier 2012: 143f.), there have come to light many facts which contributed to our understanding of Homeric epics, enlarging our knowledge about Troia and its surrounding area and last but not least supporting the above discussed equation with Hittite *Taruisa*.

For example, Schliemann was not able to prove the existence of lower a town which led to misinterpretation not just of the archaeological findings but also to misinterpretation of Homeric epics. It was first in the 80's, when the archaeologists with the help of geomagnetic prospection, showed, that to the south of the hill there was a much greater walled lower town surrounded by ditches (Jablonka-Rose 2004:616). This actual picture fits now better to the Homeric description as ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο "the big city of Priamos" (e. g. Il. 2.332, Il. 7.296, Il. 9.136,278, Il. 16.448, Il. 17.160, Il. 21.309, Il. 22.251, Od. 3.107). All facts coming from archaeology and textual sources show that Troy (VI-VIIA) was between 13th -12th cent. BC, i. e. in a period when according to tradition the Trojan war should have taken place, the largest city of the Troad with upper-town for the ruling elite and fortified lower town, comparable with Mycenaean cities or Ugarit (cf. Niemeier 2012:145).

3.

Hitt. *Apašaš* 'Ephesus' ~ Gk. *Ἐφεσος*, modern Turkish *Efes*

It was the main city of the Arzawa land on the west coast of Asia Minor (cf. Sommer 1947:24). In the antiquity, the city was situated directly on the shore, but over time through sedimentation the sea moved to the west and therefore the rests of Ephesus are now at some distance from the shore in the vicinity of the modern Turkish town Selçuk, ca. 70 km to the south of Izmir.

The identification of Ephesus with Lydian *Ibši-* as the oldest metropolis of the Arzawa kingdom (situated in the middle of the west Anatolian coast north of Lukka, between Walma land and Aegean Sea) is also voiced by Garstang-Gurney (1959:88). Another support for the

equation of Hitt. *Apašaš* with Gk. *Ἐφεσος* comes from recent excavations at Ayasoluk acropolis (cf. Benzi 2002:356, fn. 55).

On the epichoric Lydian inscriptions a GN is attested as *Ibši-* (cf. Zgusta 1984:177). Gusmani (1964:130f) states that Lyd. *ibšimsi-* means “Ephesian/stemming from Ephesus” and *artimuš ibšimsis* correspond to Gk. *Ἀρτεμὺς Ἐφεσία*. On the basis of other Lydian ethnonyms, like *kulumsi-* “koloisch”, *ibšimsi-* can be analysed as stem *Ibši-* “Ephesus” and ethnonym forming suffix *-msi-*.

Concerning the etymology of this toponym, Woudhuizen (2012) suggested that it should be derived from the IE root for water **h₂ep-/h₂eb^h-* and connected with Hittite *ḫapa-* c. “river”. The problem of this connection is that in Hittite the IE **h₂* is normally preserved word-initially and therefore we would expect an unattested form ***Ḫapasa-* (for this etymon and its cognates cf. de Vaan 2008:39, Kloekhorst EDHIL:294f., Mayrhofer EWA I: 81f.).

4.

Hitt. *Lazpa* ~ Gk. *Λέσβος* /Lesbos/

There is not much known about this toponym and by reading Hittite sources we only can be sure, that *Lazpa* had been conterminous with the Seha River Land. This is shown by the letter of Manḫapatarhunta Lord of Seha to the king Muwatalli II. (KUB XIX.5) (cf. Benzi 2002: 357, Garstang-Gurney 1959:95-96, for attestations see del Monte 1978:245f.).

5.

Hitt. *Milawanda* /*Millaṽanta*/ <*mi-il-la-ṽa-an-da*> with an attested byform *Milawata* <*mi-la-wa-ta*> (KUB XIX 55 Rs. 47, 49) ~ Gk. Dor. *Μίλ(φ)ατος* Aeol. *Μίλλατος*; *Μίλητος* (Hom. Il. 2, 867-868: *Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων, οἳ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶν τ' ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον* “And Nastes again led the Carians, uncouth of speech, who held Miletus and the mountain of Phthires”) is the well-known coastal city in western Asia Minor. The connection of the Hittite and Greek name was already recognized by Bedřich Hrozný (1929: 329f.) and Fritz Schachermeyr (1935:53f.), mainly based on the vicinity to the coast in both Greek and Hittite sources and strong archaeological grounds, namely on numerous Mycenaean goods found since the beginning of the excavations in Miletos in 1899. Under the temple of Athene, pottery from the Late Bronze Age was found and approximately 1,5 km to the southwest eleven

rock chamber graves of the Mycenaean type were excavated, which speaks securely for the long-term presence of Mycenaeans in Milet and its surrounding, contrary to the findings of the Mycenaean-like pottery in Troy, where it was imported (Niemeier 2012: 146). Archaeological findings fit well together with the textual evidence (see the Tawagalawa Letter) and both indicate that the territory of Milawanda was controlled by *Aḫḫiyaṽa* (cf. Beckman et. al. 2011:121).

The *communis opinio* identifies the Hittite and Greek form now almost entirely (cf. Niemeier 1998: 21-23 with extensive literature; Benzi 2002: 358, Miller 2014:14, for attestations see del Monte-Tischler 1978: 268f with further literature to history of comparison; Zgusta 1984:383f.).

From the texts follows that Milawanda was a place where subjects of the Ahhiyawan king were present and the spheres of interest of Hatti and *Aḫḫiyaṽa* were crossing. There are just three Hittite sources, which mention Milawanda/ Milawata. All of them stem from a time between ca. 1320-1220/10 BC (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2003: 202f.):

1. The first source represents a fragmentarily preserved passage (KUB 14.15 I 23-27) of the so-called **annals of the Hittite king Muršiliš II.**, which concerns conflicts between Ḫatti and Arzawa, in which was involved the king of *Aḫḫiyaṽa* and the land of *Milawanda*.

2. The second source is the ***Tawagalawa letter*** (KUB 14.3, VAT 6692, CTH 181), from which just the third tablet is preserved. It was send by Hattusili III. to an unnamed king of *Aḫḫiyaṽa* and informs us of the renegade Piyamaradu, who was escaping from his raids of Lukka Lands first to Milawanda and then by ship to *Aḫḫiyaṽa*. Milawanda was under the control of the Ahhiyawan kings Atpa and Awayana, the sons-in-law of Piyamaradu (14.3. I 62). According to Taracha (2015:280f.) Milawanda was the place where the trilateral talks took place, in which *Tawagalawas*, *Kurunta* and King of *Aḫḫiyaṽa* (addressee of this letter) participated. Subject of these talks should be the destabilized situation in Western Anatolia caused by Piyamaradu.

3. The main Hittite source, the ***Milawata letter*** (KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90, CTH 182) was first described by Emil Forrer (Forschungen 1,2, pp. 233-261) and later followed the edition by Sommer (1932:198ff.), with important addition and reinterpretation made by Hoffner (1982: 130-137). More recent editions are Hoffner (2009:313f.) and Beckman et al. (2011: 123ff.).

The sender of this letter, whose entity is hidden behind the title “My Majesty” (^dUTU^š), was Tuthaliya IV. (1235 BC +) from Ḫatti and the recipient, whose name is lost in a damaged

salutation, was most probably a subdued ruler in western Anatolia. Hawkins has suggested that the addressee was Tarkasnawa, the king of Mira. This can be supposed by the absence of any greeting or blessing, which is specific for the addressing of subalterns (cf. Güterbock 1986: 38, Bryce 2005:306f.).

A derived ethnonym is attested in Mycenaean Greek nom. pl. fem. *mi-ra-ti-ja* /milātiai/ “women from Milet”, namely on the Pylos tablets (PY Aa 798). (cf. Heubeck 1985: 127ff., García Ramón 2011:36, Aura-Jorro 1985:453) and later found in Linear B tablets as *mi-ra-ti-jo* = *Μιλάτιος*, *Μιλήσιος* (cf. Benzi 2002:366). This could also be taken as support of lively cultural interference between the Mycenaean world and western Asia Minor, as there are more female name, which seems to be of Anatolian origin, like: *ze-pu₂-ra₃* ~ *Ζεφύρα* (old name of Halicarnassus, cf. Strabo 14.2.16f: *Εἰθ' Ἀλικαρνασός, τὸ βασιλεῖον τῶν τῆς Καρίας δυναστῶν, Ζεφυρία καλουμένη πρότερον*. Engl. „Then to Halicarnassus, the royal residence of the dynasts of Caria, which was formerly called Zephyra.“), *ki-ni-di-ja* ~ Knidos, *ra-mi-ni ja* ~ Lemnos or *ki-si-wi-ja* ~ Knidos (cf. Bennet 1997: 519, Chadwick 1976: 80).

Hajnal (2003:27) states that we have to reckon with a substitution of a morpheme which was attached to the stem */millā-/. On the Anatolian side, it was the suffix /-*uant*-/ (Myc. -*wont*-) < IE */-*uént* ~ *unt*-/ and on the Greek the suffix /-*to*-/. These suffixes, forming denominative adjectives expressed appurtenance (Engl. „provided with something“, Germ. „mit etw. versehen“) in both languages (for the different use of suffix -*ant*- and its various origins, see Hoffner-Melchert 2008: 55f.). A comparable formation is to be seen in many Anatolian toponyms. Jie’s *Retrograde glossary* (1994) lists some 50 names ending in -*uanta*. For example, *Waliwanda*, *Ijalanda*, *Arinnanda* “versehen mit, reich an *arin* “Quelle” or *Wiyanawanda* < *uis-ja-na-ua-an-ta* > /*Uj̥jana-uant*a/ „city provided with wine(stock)” (cf. Gk. *Οινόανδα*, Lat. *Oenianda*) written also with logogram VITIS as attested in the Hieroglyphic-Luwian rock inscription from Yalburt (near Ilgin in the Konya province, excavated by Raci Temizer, the director of the Anatolian Civilizations Museum), which describes one of Tudhaliyas’s IV. campaigns against Lukka and reports more geographical names, which can be identified with later Lycian cities, like Talawa ~ Tlos or Pinala ~ Pinara (cf. Poetto 1993: 80; Benzi 2002:355, for attestation see Zgusta 1984: 432, further similar formations of toponyms can be found in Laroche 1961:58f., Brandenstein 1936: 30f.). For the semantics of these adjective formations in -*ant*-/-*want*- as well as for their morphological analysis see Matzinger (2008:67ff).

Unfortunately, the meaning of the stem **/millā-/* is up till now unclear, although it comes up in the Hittite language as a first member of a word (cf. Hoffner 1998:31).

Concerning the byform *Milawata*, according to Hajnal (2003:28), it represents a Greek language contact variant, because in Hittite as well as in Luwian the outcome of IE **-ŋ-* is Hitt./Luw. *-an-* (cf. Melcher 1994:125, 260), on the other hand the zero-grade suffix */-uŋt-/* leads in Greek to */-uat-/*, therefore the suffix */-ata-/* in *Milawata* could be a substitution of epichoric Anatolian suffix */-anta-/* by Greek suffix */-ata-/*. On the other hand, there are scholars who are more sceptical as to the identification of this suffix (e.g. García Ramón 2011:29 states: “*-(a)nda-*, z. B. *Καρνάνδα*, *Λάρανδα*: Zusammengehörigkeit mit anat. *(a)nda* möglich, aber unsicher.“).

This scenario is in my view plausible, because in this period on the coast of Asia Minor as well as in the Aegean Sea, we have to reckon not just with influence of substrate languages, but also with strong language contact, with bilingualism or even multilingualism. This supposition is confirmed by the Greek epics, where the names of Trojan heroes are often mixed Greek and Anatolian (cf. Benzi 2002:264, Güterbock 1986, Watkins 1986, Starke 1977:459), as seen in the example of the name *Ἀστυνάξ* /*Astyanax*/, the son of Hector and Andromache, who had the byname *Σκαμάνδριος* /*Skamandrios*/. Similar situation is depicted by Homer on different places, e. g.:

(Od. 19.175ff.).

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες
Δωριέες τε τριχᾶϊκες δῖοι τε Πελασγοί·

...but their tongues are mixed. There dwell Achaeans,

there great-hearted native Cretans, there Cydonians,

and Dorians of waving plumes, and godly Pelasgians

Il. 2. 803-804:

πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμῳ ἐπίκουροι,
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων

“Inasmuch as there are allies full many throughout the great city of Priam, and tongue differs from tongue among men that are scattered abroad.”

Il. 4. 437-438

οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμῶς θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,
ἀλλὰ γλῶσσα μέμικτο, πολὺκλήτοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες

„for they had not all like speech or one language, but their tongues were mingled, and they were a folk summoned from many lands.”

These episodes from Homeric epics, although they cannot be taken as serious as Hittite historical administrative documents, demonstrate the variegated sociolinguistic situation in western Anatolia. According to Oettinger (1978), Homer could have had in mind beside Greek also Luwian, Lycian, Lydian, Carian and Phrygian. As far as Homer's language skills and his origin is concerned, there can be said very little, apart from that the prevailing dialect of his *Kunstsprache* seems to be Ionic, to be more specific, either central or western Ionic, which can be seen for example by the anlaut of Homeric interrogative/indefinite pronoun *πο-*, *πω-* in opposition to east Ionic *κο-*, *κω-* or on the fact that Homeric Ionic doesn't show the loss of aspiration word-initially to the same extent as eastern Ionic, e. g. Homeric *ἀφίκετο* „came, arrived” (Il. 13,645) against east Ionic *ἀπίκετο* „id.” (Herodotos, *Historiae* 5,11,1) (cf. Hackstein 2011:37f., Meier-Brügger 2003:232-244).

However, the language of Homer embodies also some features of Aeolic Greek (for possible scenarios of these facts see Bennet 1997:514), which may reflect some earlier stage of the transmission. Aeolic lexemes, respectively morphemes in epics were used for metrically inadmissible Ionic forms or as stylistically marked (cf. West 1988:166).

Homer's language is very archaic in other respects. For example, in syntax we observe the use of tmesis (the separation of verbs from verb particles or preverbs), which is shared by Vedic and most probably belonged to the syntactic inventory of the Indo-European proto-language (Hajnal Tmesis:1-33). In the sphere of morphology, it is the retention of the genitive ending *-οιο* of the o-stems (e. g. *ἵπποιο* „of the horse”), which is preserved also in Linear B as *-o-jo* (Bennet l.c.: 524f.) and still in Paleo-Latin Inscriptions: e.g. *POPLIOSIO VALESIOSIO* (Lapis Satricanus ca 500 BC) from PIE * *-osjo* = Ved. *-asya*, OAv. *-ahiiā*, Yav. *-ahe* (cf. Meiser 1998: 4, 133f., Pultrová 2006:68, Hoffmann 1992: 872; 2004:119, Risch- Hajnal 2006:125).

Another archaic feature in the inventory of morphology shared by Homeric Greek (where it is fossilized in poetic formulas or in anthroponyms like *Ἰφικράτης*, cf. Fick 1984:130)

and Mycenaean (where it is still productive) is the instrumental ending in *-φι*, which was originally number-indifferent (e.g. Hom. *ἰφί* „by force”, Myc. *wi-pi* = /uīp^{hi}/ e.g. in Greek PN (f) *Ιφίβοος* = Myc. *wi-pi* KN Nc 5103) (cf. Hackstein 2011:33, Hajnal 1995: 139ff., 147, Risch 1944). A further similarity, which is shared by Mycenaean and corresponds rather to the Ionic dialect than with the above mentioned Aeolic is to be seen in the dat. pl. of Aeol. *κόνεσσι* (four times in Iliad) Ion. *κυσί* (ten times in Iliad) = Myc. *ku-si* (TH Fq 130).

Already in antiquity the testimonies of the sources are contradictory and from a contemporary state of knowledge unbelievable. Thus, for example Lucian of Samostata (ca. 125 – 180 AD) said that Homer should have been a Babylonian. On what grounds Lucian came to this conclusion is unclear. Stephanie West (1994:129-149) stated that the reason could have been the similarities between Homer’s epics and the Gilgamesh epos, leading Lucian to this idea. In this context also the statement of the translator of both works, Raoul Schrott (2008:11) should be mentioned: “... nachdem ich vor nicht allzulanger Zeit Gilgamesch übertragen hatte, war ich hellhörig für die in den Ilias auftauchenden Parallelen dazu, die weniger wie ein Echo motivischer Archetypen denn wie wortwörtliche Übernahmen klangen. Zusätzlich wies die Sekundärliteratur neben Gilgamesch und anderen akkadischen Epen aber noch eine ganze Reihe weiterer semitischer und hethitisch-hurritischer Stoffe und Motive als Vorlagen aus.“ Although this citation has something in it, other hypotheses advanced by Schrott like that of Homer being a writer and eunuch in an Assyrian office in Karatepe about 800 km to the south-east of Troy, should be taken with a great amount of cautiousness, or rather fully rejected (cf. Latacz 2010: 156f., Niemeier 2012: 142f. with further literature).

6.

Hitt. *Assuwa*, “(country name) Asia“ ~ Myc. *a-si-wi-ja* /*Asuiai*/, Att. *Ἀσία*, Hom. *Ἀσιος*
Connection between these two forms was first proposed by Emil Orgetorix Forrer (1924:6; 1932: s. v. *Assuwa*).

The Greek forms reflect an adjective derived from Hitt. *Aššuwa*, a region located to the Southwest of the kingdom of Hattusa. In Hittite texts, this country name is mentioned nearly a dozen times (cf. Del Monte-Tischler 1978:52). It is known from the annals of king Tudhaliya, where a rebellion of the so called Assuwa coalition and Tudhaliya’s victory against this coalition is depicted (KUB 23.11 II 13’–37’ // KUB 23.12 II 4’–22’) (Translation in Gander 2015: 448f., Benzi 2002: 358f). The Hittite suffix *-uwa* is a well-attested toponym-forming

suffix, productive also in other Anatolian languages. For a possible etymology and connection with Hitt./Luw. verb *ass-iya-* “to be dear, find favour” see Watkins (1986: 54). Another hypothesis is offered by Starke (1997:475, fn. 93), who connects it with the word Hieroglyphic Luwian (EQUUS.ANIMAL) *á-sú-* = /*ásu-*/ ‘horse, cavalry’ = Lyc. *esbe* “idem” which in turn comes from Indo-Aryan **aśua-* < IE**h₁ékwo-* “horse” (cf. Ved. *ásva-*, Av. *aspa-*, OP. *asa-*, Myc. *i-qo* = Gk. *ἵππος*, Lat. *equus*, OE. *eoch*, OIr. *ech*, Toch A *yuk*, Toch B *yakwe* „idem“, etc.). This lexeme came by mediation of Hurrian and is also present in Hittite *āššuššanni-* ‘horse trainer’ (with individualizing suffix *-ni*), as a title of *Kikkuli* and has its etymological equivalent in Gk. *ἵππο-κόμος* “horse keeper” (cf. Melchert 1987:202, Yakubovich 2010:124, fn. 64, NIL 230ff., Lipp Hittite *katta*, Cuneiform Luvian *zanta* pag. 14f.: forthcoming, Lipp 2009 Band I: 75f., 269ff.).

Outside of Anatolia and Greece this toponym is attested in Egypt, namely on big stone blocks in Kom el-Hettan from the mortuary temple of Amenothep III. (1390-1353 BC), which was excavated in 2004-2005 and where several lands of Asia Minor are mentioned. Unfortunately, the context is fragmentary, but if the identification of Asia with Egypt. *j-s-y-w* is correct, it tells us about the great importance of this country because it is mentioned beside the kingdoms of *Hatti* and *Arzawa* in the list of the northern foreign countries (cf. Gander 2015: 443ff.).

Closer to Anatolia the Pylos tablets testify it (Miller 2014:13, García Ramón 2005:29, Aura Jorro 1985:110 with further literature) in the form *a-si-wi-jo*. In all attested occurrences, it is a personal name, sometimes connected with Crete (KN Df 1469.B, PY Cn 285.12, PY Eq 146.11, MY Au 653.5, MY Au 657.11)

The area of Anatolian *Assuwa* had to be important for the Mycenaeans as they borrowed this place name and had even a goddess with a respective epithet, attested in the syntagma *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* (PY Fr 1206) *Ποτνία ασφία* “for the lady of Asia“, a possible reading is also *Ποτνία ασφίας*, however, as the genitives were preponed, the latter is not very probable (for writing conventions cf. Risch-Hajnal 2006:234f.). We can think in this case of Pausanias (3.24.6), who speaks about the mountain in Laconia and the goddess Athena with the epithet Asia (most recent study in Gander 2015: 453).

In her article Morris (2001: 423-434) connects **Aswiya* with the goddess *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja*, known from the Pylos tablets. Unfortunately, in the primary sources the origins of this divinity are not mentioned.

The earliest Greek literary testimony of Asia is to be found in a fragment of Hesiod (Hes. frg. 165 Z. 8–11 Merkelbach – West (= frg. 117 Most = POxy XI 1359 fr. 1).), where it surely denotes a western Anatolian area. Furthermore, this toponym is attested in Sappho and Mimnermos, where it also refers to a region near to the coast of western Asia Minor (for attestation see Gander 215:454).

It has been suggested by Monique Gérard-Rousseau already in 1968 (pp. 42-43) that the Mycenaean *a-si-wi-ja/-jo* is to be connected with Greek ἄσις „mud, swamp, sludge”

The toponym in Homer designates a meadow land:

Il. 2, 460–462:

Τῶν δ' ὥς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων
Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα
ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι
κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν

“And as the many tribes of winged fowl, wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans on the Asian mead by the streams of Caystrius, fly this way and that, glorying in their strength of wing, and with loud cries settle ever onwards, and the mead resoundeth”

This passage mentioning water birds alludes to a similar one (15.694), where there is also talk about fowl, geese and cranes, but instead of the Asian meadow we read *ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομενάων* “that are feeding by a river's bank” which would speak for the meaning “muddy, swampy”. Already Pape (1911:157 with rich attestations) translates Ἀσίᾱ “Moorland”.

Further description of the location and name of Asia can be found in following passages:

Herodotus (Historiae 4.45):

ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην· καὶ τοῦτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκληῖσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίης·

„and Asia after the wife of Prometheus; yet the Lydians claim a share in the latter name, saying that Asia was not named after Prometheus' wife Asia, but after Asies, the son of Cotys, who was the son of Manes“

Strabo, Geography 14.1.45:

Ἀπὸ δὲ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς Νύσης ὑπερβᾶσι Τμῶλον τὸ ὄρος τὴν Μεσωγίδα ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς νότον μέρη καλεῖται τόπος Λειμών, εἰς ὃν ἐξοδεύουσι πανηγυριοῦντες Νυσαεῖς τε καὶ οἱ κύκλω πάντες· οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτου στόμιόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν, ὃ φασὶ καθήκειν μέχρι τῶν Ἀχαράκων. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λειμῶνα ὀνομάζειν τὸν ποιητὴν φασὶν ὅταν φῇ “Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι,” δεικνύντες Καῦστρίου καὶ Ἀσίου τινὸς ἡρώον καὶ τὸν Κάυστρον πλησίον ἀπορρέοντα.

Thirty stadia from Nysa, after one crosses over Mt. Tmolus and the mountain called Mesogis, towards the region to the south of the Mesogis, there is a place called Leimon, whither the Nysaeans and all the people about go to celebrate their festivals. And not far from Leimon is an entrance into the earth sacred to the same gods, which is said to extend down as far as Acharaca. The poet is said to name this meadow when he says, "On the Asian meadow"; and they point out a hero-temple of Caÿster and a certain Asius, and the Caÿster River that streams forth nearby.

Strabo, Geography 13.4.8.5:

λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλίνου τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡσιονῆας γεγονέναι καθ' ἣν αἱ Σάρδεις ἐάλωσαν, εἰκάζουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκήψιον ἰαστὶ λέγεσθαι Ἡσιονεῖς τοὺς Ἀσιονεῖς· “τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μηονία” φησὶν “Ἀσία ἐλέγετο, καθ' ὃ καὶ Ὅμηρος εἴρηκεν “Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.”

“But when Callinus says that the incursion of the Cimmerians was against the Esioneis, at the time of which Sardeis was captured, the Scepsian and his followers surmise that the Asioneis were by Callinus called the Esioneis, in the Ionic dialect; for perhaps Meïonia, he says, was called Asia, and accordingly Homer likewise says, “on the Asian mead about the streams of the Caÿster.”

Chronologically later, Stephanos Byzantios (s.v. Ἀσίᾱ) also localized Asia in Anatolia, namely in Lydia. From the majority of the Greek sources follows that Ἀσίᾱ should be located in the coastal region in the vicinity of the delta of Kaystros river.

Only in later times does it become a general term for the whole area located to the east of Greece.

The Greek personal name Ἀσιος is just an appurtenance adjective derived from a toponym with the suffix *-iō-. It is attested in Homer (Il. 13.759) and points also to digamma, which is confirmed by Mycenaean evidence. Further support is provided by Homeric metrics, because the initial *Α*- of Ἀσιος is measured long:

Ἀσιάδην τ' Ἀδάμαντα καὶ Ἄσιον Ὑρτάκου νιόν

Adamas, son of Asios, and Asios, son of Hurtakos

Furthermore, this passage shows clearly the language contact between Greeks and Anatolians, as the Trojans bear beside Greek or the Hellenised names as well Asiatic names. The ἐπὶ κλησις, respectively the double Anatolian-Greek naming among Trojan aristocracy hints at mutual interference, see e. g. Il. 6.402f.: ...τόν ῥ' Ἐκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀστυάνακτ'... „...Him Hector was wont to call Scamandrius, but other men Astyanax...” (cf. García Ramón 2011: 33, Watkins 1986:54).

In Addition to these facts Hesychius reports us, that Greeks living in Asia were called *Esioneis* (Ἡσιονεῖς · οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες Ἕλληγνες (Callin. fr. 5) (cf. Darms 1978:333)

The Latin term *Asia Minor* first came into use in the 4th cent. AD and the name Anatolia in the 10th cent. AD, i. e. in Byzantine era (cf. Popko 2008: 13)

7.

Hitt. *Wi-lu-sa* / *wi-lu-si-ya* ~ Gk. (f)ἰλιος

This toponym is attested ca. in dozens of Hittite texts from ca. 14th-12th century BC. At that time Wilusa had been closely involved in Anatolian politics. From the primary sources, it is clear that it was a designation of a country in north-western Anatolia in the Troad near the Aegean Sea, as it has been object of dispute between the Hatti kingdom and *Aḫḫiyaṣa* (cf. Benzi 2002:358). Zgusta (1984: 197) gives up the localization because the name of the famous (f)ἰλιος, according to his opinion, is too dispersed and has been transferred to other cities and therefore is not suitable to localize a particular place. The same explanation is given by Zgusta

(1984:383) in the case of Gk. *Μίλητος*. But the equation of Hitt. *Wi-lu-sa / wi-lu-si-ya* ~ Gk. (f)*ίλιος* is nowadays, at least from a functional point of view, almost generally accepted, although there are still scholars, who are against the identification of Hitt. *Wi-lu-sa / wi-lu-si-ya* ~ Gk. (f)*ίλιος* and try to connect Hitt. *Wi-lu-sa / wi-lu-si-ya* with Byzantine Era *Ιλὸβζα* (pace Pantazis 2009: 291-310). According to Hajnal (2003: 54): „Es kann kaum darüber Zweifel bestehen, dass das homerische *ίλιος* auf das in hethitischen Texten genannte *Uiluša* referiert.“

The situation becomes more complicated when we compare the geographical names on a formal level. Unfortunately, the scholars who still disagree, fail to offer an alternative solution.

The initial digamma is ascertained by Homeric Greek metrics, although on the surface it is seemingly “lost”. This phoneme disappeared and in the 8th century BC it was not pronounced anymore in the Ionic dialect. We can see the traces of this phoneme, because it can cause a metrical position length, prevents the hiatus or the shortening of long vowels and diphthongs in auslaut and is still visible in the attestations of other Greek dialects like Boeotian or Doric (cf. Monro 1891:381, Hackstein 2002:19, 2011:28, Parry 1934: 130-144).

In Akkadian, the name is transmitted as KUR ^{URU}Ú-I-LU-ŠA/UI₅-LU-ŠA

The treaties between Hittite kings and *Wilusa* found in Bogazköy indicate that *Wilusa* was a vassal state of the Hittite kingdom.

It is known from following the Hittite sources dating back approximately to 1400-1200BC:

1. **Manapa-Tarhunta letter** (CTH 191; KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79), which says that *Wilusa* is known to be reached through the Seha River Land (situated either on Kaikos or on Hermos river), as the king Manapa-Tarhunta reports to his addressee that the Hittite troops marched through his land to *Wilusa* (cf. Yakubovich 2010:120). Now that we are able to localize the neighbouring Arzawa kingdoms, it is clear that the old connection of Hitt. *Wi-lu-sa / wi-lu-si-ya* ~ Gk. (f)*ίλιος* is re-affirmed by this and *Wilusa* has to be placed in the Troad, i. e. in the northwest of Asia Minor, since the localization of Lukka, Mira and the Seha River Land on the west coast of Anatolia hardly leaves another area for consideration (cf. Easton et al. 2002:99f., Benzi 2002:357; Garstang-Gurney 1959: 105-107,120-123; Güterbock 1986:41).

2. **Alakšandu treaty** (CTH 76) – Treaty between the Hittite great king *Muwatalli II*. (1295-1270 BC) and his vassal *Alakšandu*, king of *Wilusa*, where we read the misspelled form ^{URU}Ú-LU-ŠA, most probably a *lapsus calami* (cf. Starke 1997:468 fn. 4). This vassal treaty, preserved in a rather fragmentary version, was first published by Johannes Friedrich (1930:42ff.). Later fragments were incorporated and translated more recently by Beckmann (1996:82ff.).

This treaty contains the history of the relations between these two kingdoms from ca. 1600 BC until the reign of *Mursillis II*. It states that Arzawa and Wilusa were former under Hittite kingdom and remained peaceful after they become independent (cf. Starke 1997: 486, fn. 4; Benzi 2002:358). In the §2. of this treaty, it is written that the ancestor titled *labarna* had subdued the whole land of Arzawa and Wilusa. Usage of the term *labarna* hints in the Hittite historiography to the fact that it has to be later than in 1600 BC (cf. Starke 1997: 473f. fn. 79, cf. detailed study of this royal title by Soysal 2005: 189ff.). Consequently, it means, if we accept that the treaty was written around 1200 BC, that the friendly relationship lasted at least for 300 years. Another hint about the localization of Wilusa comes in the §17 where *Alakšandu* is addressed as one of the four kings of the Arzawa lands, the others being Mira, the Šeha River Land, and Hapalla (§17 iii 31-33). This fact suggests, that Wilusa should be placed somewhere on the west coast of Asia Minor (translation by Beckman 1996: 82-88).

3. **Tawagalawa letter** (CTH 181) – In this text the name of Wilusa is slightly damaged, but clear enough to be identified (cf. Güterbock 1986:37). This letter was send by an unnamed king, most probably Hattusili III. (Bryce 2005:290f with literature) of Hatti to an unspecified king of *Aḫḫiyaṽa* (LUGAL KUR*aḫ-ḫi-ia-u-ṽa*). Mentioned here is the previous conflict between *Aḫḫiyaṽa* and Hatti over Wilusa, which should have been caused, according to some scholars, by a previous attack of a certain Gassu described in the Manapa-Tarhunta letter (cf. Benzi 2002: 359).

4. **Milawata letter** (CTH 182) - This letter reports us about the demand of a Hittite king, most likely Tudḫaliya IV., to his vassal to turn over to him the king of Walmu, who was to be reinstated on the throne of Wilusa, which he had formerly occupied (cf. Beckman 1996:145, Yakubovich 2010:121).

5. In the so-called **annals of Tudḫaliyas** (CTH 142, KUB XXIII. 11). This text is treated in a most detailed manner by Onofrio Carruba (Beiträge zur mittelhethitischen Geschichte I. Die Tuthalijas und die Arnuwandas, in: Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici 18, 1977) (cf. Sommer 1947:24; Beekes 2010: 588; Kretschmer Glotta 13 (1924): 205-213; Latacz 2010:369f., Brosch 2004:3).

Wilusa appears at the end of the list of the Assuwa coalition (in total twenty kingdoms), which began a rebellion against Hatti, as the last two countries *Wilusa* and *Taruisa* (KUR^{URU}*Wilusiya* and KUR^{URU}*Tarwisa*) side by side. The king repressed the hostilities against the

kingdom of Hatti and defeated the coalition. These seems to be the most northern countries in the list (see Forrer MDOG Nr. 63 1924: 4f.; Forrer „Forschungen” I.: 73ff., Starke 1997:455, Yakubovich 2010:119, transcription and translation in Carruba 1977:156ff.).

6. This toponym is attested also in another genetically related Anatolian language, namely in the Hittite sister language, Luwian. It occurs in the **song from Istanuwa**, written in cuneiform Luwian, dating back to ca. 13th century BC, in which Wilusa is celebrated. It was discovered by Calvert Watkins (1986: 58ff.), who observed that the Homeric epos shows phraseological similarities with epichoric poetry of Asia Minor. This could be possible just under the assumption that Mycenaean Greeks in the Late Bronze Age disposed of epic poetry, which is by many scholars, among others by Joachim Latacz, emphatically advocated (cf. Hajnal 2003:49, Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:152).

(KBo 4.11 45, CTH 772.1):

(Hittite Text): EGIR-ŠU^D *šū-ua-šu-na-an e-ku-zi*

(Luwian Text): aḥ-ḥa-ta-ta a-la-ti a-ú-i-en-ta ú-i-lu-ša-ti

when steep.abl they.came Wilusa.abl.sg

Hitt. Then he drinks on Šuwašuna (sc. and sings):

Luw. ‘when they came from steep Wilusa’

KUB 35.103 rev. 11–14, CTH 766 (MS):

a-a-la-ti-^rit¹-ta a-ah-ha LÚ-is a-ú-i-ta[. . .] GÌR.MEŠ-ta-du tar-ú-e-ya

i-iš-ša-ra-d[u . . .] du-ú-wa-za-an ti-ya-am-mi-in du-ú-pí-t[a] ša-ar-ra i-^rx¹-la tar-ši-i-ta

‘When a man came from high [Wiluša] his legs are firm?, his arms are . . . He beat the wide? earth He *tarsi*-ed X’.

Text and translation by Yakubovich (2010: 125f.). Starke (1990:603) deviates in the translation (“Als sie (=ata) vom Meer herkamen, und zwar von Uilusa.”) and interprets Luw. *ala-* on the basis of a similar formulation as “sea” (for further discussion see also Starke 1985). According to Steiner (2007:596) the Luwian song on Wiluša is to be interpreted in another way. He points out that the determinative is missing. I. e. there is no KUR “land” or URU “city” in front of the toponym. Therefore, Steiner (l.c.) interprets *wilusati* as 3rd person singular of present-future of a Luwian verb **wiluša-*, whose meaning is unknown. I personally do not see in the fact mentioned as big an obstacle as Steiner because it is not unusual to encounter the

toponym in Luwian as well as in Hittite without determinatives. Similarly already Eichner (1993:106 fn. 48) states: „Was die Identifikation des Stadtnamens Wilusa- angeht, so ist auf das Fehlen des Determinativs URU in luwischem Kontext wenig zu geben.“

A parallel situation is to be seen in the toponym *Pašuḫalta-*, the city of Arzawa, where the determinative is also missing (cf. Laroche 1959:130).

I incline, therefore, to interpret *alati Wilusati* as ablative singular and therefore translate “from the steep Wilusa”, because of the match with Homeric poetic formula (F)ἰλιος αἰπείνῃ attested as well in later authors (see below). According to Watkins (l.c. 62): “The semantic identity of the epithets in “steep Wilusa” and “steep (W)ilios” could be just an elementary parallel. But that is what the site looked like; which suggests the phrase in each language goes back to an eyewitness, or that one translates the other. Is the epithet a shared convention between the two languages, Luvian and Greek?” Extensive argumentation of the equation of Luwian-Greek parallels can be found in Watkins (1995: 145-149) (cf. Miller 2014: 15, West 2007: 57).

The historicity of Greco-Luwian contact in western Anatolia gains in plausibility by another argument. Namely by the gods, who are the witnesses of the oath between Greeks and Trojans (Il. 3.276f.). There is Zeus as storm god, Helios, earth, rivers and the chthonic gods. Interestingly, we find the same deities in the treaty between Muwatali II. and Alaksandus from Wilusa (§20), around 1280 BC (cf. Friedrich 1930: 80, Beckman 1996:87). For the worshipping continuity also speaks the treaty between Smyrna (supposed birth place of Homer) and Magnesia, stemming from 245 BC, where the same deities appear.

Högemann (2000:190f.) points out two further facts which could support Luwo-Greek contact. One of them concerns the Hecatombs, the offering to the gods on the altars (*βωμοί*), where the thighs were burned (*μηρία καίειν*). This custom is not Indo-European and Högemann (l. c.) plausibly argues for its Luwian transmission to Greece, where it is first attested in Homer’s epics. The second argument in support of his “luwische Kontinuitätsthese” comes from the social sphere. He points out that in Homer Priamos, the king of Troia, has one main wife, Hecabe, but also many other side-women, all of them of non-Trojan origin. On the other hand, the Achaeans had only one woman, exclusively Greek and of modest offspring. The Trojans lived with their sons, daughters and sons-in-law together in one place. Högemann puts these and still further arguments (e. g. status of a woman) convincingly together to support his thesis, according to which there is in Homer’s epics a distinction between Greeks and Trojans

on various levels and the description of Trojan realities mirror the Anatolian way of living and the structure of the Anatolian kingdom, which we know best from Hattusa (ibid.).

There is no obstacle in connecting the older form *Wilusa* and the byform *Wilusiya* with Greek (Ϝ)ίλιος, whereby Gk. (Ϝ)ίλιος could theoretically come from **uily-ios* which according to Hajnal (2003:29) could be an isolated form from an original pre-Homeric syntagma */*uilyios polis*/. This analysis is backed by the assumption that Ἰλιος denoted the πόλις, i. e. the upper town with castle, and Τροία denoted the ἄστυ, i. e. the civil lower town (for the functional distinction of these two terms see above under *Taruisa*).

The Hittite formation is not isolated and also other Anatolian toponyms are formed with the suffix */-(i-)s(s)ā/ corresponding to Greek /-iā/ (cf. Güterbock 1986:35), which is attached to the stem */*uilyu-*/ possibly underlying both the Greek and Hittite toponym. According to García Ramón (2011:36) we are dealing with a regular Anatolian formation, although his analysis slightly differs. The byform *Wilusiya* “Wilusean (land)” (for the attestation of this toponym see del Monte-Tischler: 1978:484), which was actually attested in Hittite texts sooner than *Wilusa-*, is a possessive adjective formed with an extending suffix *-iia-* (< IE *-iō- or *-ih₂o-) from the basis *Wilusa-*. This phenomenon in Anatolian is quite common, e. g. *Arzawa* ~ *Arzawia* or *Šulupašša* ~ *Šulupaššiya* (cf. Starke 1990:179f., Starke 1997:458f., Röllig 1992:194f, Hajnal 2003: 31 fn. 36).

The suffix *-iya-* forms adjectives from nouns and adverbs and is usually attached to the base word, which bears local or temporal information. The form with the suffix then denotes space or temporal classification (e.g. *ispant-* “night” vs. *ispantiya-* “nightly, nocturnal”). From the morphological point of view, the suffix is added to the base word by deleting the stem vowel (e. g. *harpa-* “harvest festival” vs. *harpiya-* “belonging to harvest festival”) (cf. Matzinger 2008: 74f., with further examples and literature, Hoffner-Melchert 2008: 58).

One can observe in the case of western Anatolian toponyms that there were two forms frequently coexisting side by side, one base form and one with this enlargement, like *Arzawa* ~ *Arzawiya* “Arzawean (land)” (cf. Yakubovich 2010:118, fn. 57, 126f). We can see this formation as well in the case of the name of the Cilician city *Adana*, which is attested only by the stem formation *Adaniia-* (cf. also Garstang-Gurney 1959:106, Sommer 1932:370).

This kind of formation should be according to Starke (1997:458) rather due to Luwian influence, which forms adjective attributes against Hittite which prefers genitive syntagmas.

Such an interpretation is also conveyed by other factors. A possible argument in favour of the growing usage of Luwian and its dispersion within western Anatolia and also of the hypothesis that Luwian was the language spoken in Troia (so e. g. Calvert Watkins) is to be seen in the Luwian bronze biconvex seal dated around 11th century BC, written in Hieroglyphic script, found in Troia in summer 1995; this seal contains on the one side an incomplete, only partly readable name of the scribe and on the other side the name of a woman, presumably his wife (cf. Hawkins-Easton 1996: 111-118).

But it is clear that just only the sign SCRIBA “scribe” can be read without doubt. And it has to be kept in mind that many “foreign” traders were present in second millennium Troia; and as this seal was a small object, it could of course have been easily imported by a non-Trojan (cf. Kloekhorst 2013:48). Therefore, I find the formulation in Högemann (2000:183) or Benzi (2002:363f.) about Luwian as the language of Troy not quite fortunate and a bit exaggerated, as this seal found in Troy cannot be used alone as evidence for Luwian as language spoken in Troy, although the presence of Luwians can’t be at any rate excluded (cf. Latacz 2010: 172).

Coming back to the suffix */-(i-)s(s)ā/, it can be seen in the parallel formation (vide supra sub *Taruisa*) of the toponym *Karakisa*, in syncopated form *Karkisa*/*Karissa*. It is the land located in the western region of Anatolia between Lydia and Lycia and mentioned also in the Assuwa confederacy on the 8th place. Is it corresponding to Gk. *Kāρες*? (recently on this topic see Simon 2015:792ff.), who are designated in Homer (2.867), in Hesychius (s. v. <βαρβαρόφωνοι>· οἱ Ἑλεῖοι καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες, ὡς τραχύφωνοι καὶ ἀσαφεῖ τὴν φωνὴν ἔχοντες) and in Suda (kappa.388.3) as *βαρβαρόφωνοι* (cf. Watkins 1986: 47). With loss of original voiced velar in Luwian, in opposition to Hittite, like in IE **ǵʰés-ōr-/ǵʰes-r-* „hand” > Hitt. *kisssar* „id.”, CLuw. *issari-* „id.”, HLuw. *istri-* „id.”, Lyc. *izr-* „id.”, Gk. *χελρ*, etc. (cf. Kimball 1994:75ff. states that the loss of IE plain voiced, voiced aspirate and palatalized velars occurs in Luwian just before front vowels and **i*, Wodtko NIL 170f., IEW 446f.), */kargisa-/* could be the basic form of the Greek toponym *Καρία*. The presence of the original velar in */Kargisa/* and an underlying preform **/Kargā-/*, without suffixal extension is backed by secondary transmission in Old Persian <*k-r-k-a*> and Elamite <*kur-ka*> (overview in Schmitt 1976-1980: 424, Adiego-Lajara 2007: 1f., Schmitt 2014:203).

Such a segmentation of this toponym is also supported by the toponym *Zarruyisa-/Zarryisa-* (cf. Starke 1997: 474).

Concerning the etymology, there have not been many attempts in the past research and all the proposals failed to give a satisfactory solution for various reasons. The suggestion of Neumann (1994) to derive this toponym from Hitt. *uḫellu-* „meadow, Germ. Wiese, Aue” is not

possible from phonetic reasons. This hypothesis is tenable just under assumption of Luwian transmission where accented **é* gives Luw. *a*, but unaccented **e* (in pre-tonic, but probably also in post-tonic position) gives Luw. *i*. Under these circumstances is the development of the pre-form **uel-u-(-i)ssá-* > /*uilusa-*/ regular (cf. Starke 1997:474 fn. 86 with further references, Brosch 2004:5, fn. 10).

In Homer (Il. 15,70-71) we read a similar formula like in Luwian: ...*Ἀχαιοὶ Ἰλίον αἰπὸν ἔλοιεν Ἀθηναίης διὰ βουλάς...* „until the Achaeans shall take **steep Ilios** through the counsels of Athene“

And a similar formula can be found in Strabo (ca. 64 BC – 24 AD) (Geographica 13.41.1):

ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἰλιος ἱρή.” “*ἥ γὰρ καὶ Πριάμοιο πόλιν διεπέρσαμεν αἰπήν*

“when sacred Ilios shall perish; and surely we have utterly destroyed the steep city of Priam”

Furthermore, Calvert Watkin sees in the Homeric formula (*Ἰλίου αἰπεινή*) “**steep Ilios**” (Il. 13.773) a Luwian calque. The different usage of the epithets for Ilios can be found in Korfmann (2002:218f.).

For the possible occurrence of the land Wilusa in Egyptian sources see Haider (2003:189)

8. Conclusions

The topic discussed above, comprising many fields, which stretch from philology, palaeography, language contact, textual criticism, archaeology, and history to many other historical and linguistic fields is definitely a very complex one. And to everyone who begins to deal with this topic, it becomes clear that in many cases, after taking into account all the facts from the above-mentioned fields, it is the statement *non liquet* as the final result of the research. In the present work (despite of his efforts) the author was not able to take into consideration all the relevant data from the single branches, because of the immense amount of primary sources, but even a greater one of secondary literature. When a certain topic required a more detailed treatment than the one that could be given in this small work with limited target, references were given, where the reader can find more information on the respective topics. This is especially the case with multi-faceted field of archaeology, which offers plenty of new insights to the discussion of many toponyms and anthroponyms which were analyzed above.

In any case, the aim of the work was to present a compact up-to-date synopsis of several problems or questions, which have occupied many researchers for almost one century. The introduction to the topic of onomastics from diachronic as well as from the synchronic point of view and the much-researched problematic complex of the problematics of the anthro- and toponomastic parallels between Greek and Anatolian are followed by the main part of the work, which is devoted to the analysis of single geographical and personal names.

The results are to be seen above. To sum it up: In some cases, above all thanks to methodology, we can say that it is quite reasonable to equate the respective forms on the formal level it is possible on linguistic grounds to set up a solid basis for these parallels. Due to the relative new findings like the Yalburt- or Südburg-inscription (cf. Poetto 1993, Hawkins 1995) and our growing knowledge of historical geography of the Hittite Empire, there is still an ever increasing possibility to equate them on a functional level.

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Alaksandu treaty (CTH 76, KUB 21)

“Indictment of Madduwatta” or Madduwatta-Text (CTH 147, KUB XIV. 1 + KBo XIX 38)

annals of Tudhaliya II (CTH 142, KUB 23.11 II 13’–37’ // KUB 23.12 II 4’–22’)

Manapa-Tarhunta letter (CTH 191; KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79)

sing from Istanuwa (KBo 4.11 rev. 46, CTH 772.1 (NS))

Sausgamuwa treaty (CTH 105)

Ritual-Text (KBo 4.11, CTH772)

Online resources used in this work:

<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>

The Suda lexicon online

ACLT <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>, Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts, principal investigator Ilya Yakubovich

Here can be found tagged Luwian lexicon with translations and references

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus:collection:Greco-Roman>

Here can be found the Greek and roman texts in original language and the translation into English

<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm>

Here can be searched in corpora not just of Anatolian languages but also of other Indo-European languages

<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>

On the site of the University of Würzburg can be found the database of Hittite text in cuneiform, their transliteration into Latin script, fonts and rich bibliography to each of the preserved digitalized text.

<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/ONOMASTIdata.html>

On this link are collected the onomastic data

<http://www.propylaeum.de/en/ancient-near-eastern-studies/academic-and-research-services/>

This site comprises actual informations from various fields including Archaeology, Classical Philology, Egyptology, Byzantine Studies, etc.

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/>

On this experimental site can be found major Hittite and Luwian inscriptions from whole Anatolia. The site offers the images of inscriptions in real landscape, where they were found, short history of the finding, content of the inscription and bibliographical references.

<http://goottite.com/>

smart search tool, which contains many of the Old Hittite and Middle Hittite texts

TABLE 1. Chronology (dates approximate)

Mycenaean Kingdom)			Hittite (New
1400	LHIIIA ₁	1400-1360 ^a	Tudhaliya I/II Arnuwanda I
1375			Hattusili II?
		1360-1344	Tudhaliya III
	LHIIIA ₂	1244-1322	Suppiluliuma I
		1322-1321	Arnuwanda II
1300		1321-1295	Mursili II
		1295-1272	Muwatalli II
	LHIIIB ₁	1272-1267	Urhi-Tesub
		1267-1237	Hattusili III
1230		1237-1228	Tudhaliya IV
	LHIIIB ₂	1228-1227	Kurunta
1210		1227-1209	Tudhaliya IV ^b
	Transitional	1209-1207	Arnuwanda III
	LHIIIB ₂ -IIIEarly	1207-	Suppiluliuma II
1190			

a. includes period of co-regency; b. second period as king

Table adopted from Hope Simpson 2003:206 The Dodecanese and the Ahhiyawa Question

chronological table

ca. 1600–1400 Old Kingdom

Labarna I to Muwattalli I

ca. 1400–1350 Early New Kingdom (“Middle Kingdom”)

Tudhaliya II

Arnuwanda I

Tudhaliya III

ca. 1350–1200 New Kingdom

Šuppiluliuma I

Arnuwanda II

Muršili II

Muwattalli II

Muršili III (Urḫi-Teššub)

Ḫattušili III (with Queen Puduḫepa)

Tudḫaliya IV

Kurunta

Arnuwanda III

Šuppiluliuma II

table adopted from Hoffner 2009: XI